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## ANCIENT STATUES IN MEDIAEVAL CONSTANTINOPLE.

BY PROFESSOR R. M. DAWKINS, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

*(Read at Meeting, 21st May, 1924.)*

Our approach to the ancient world of Greece and Rome is made, it is safe to say, for the most part through books ; in this country at all events the visible remains of antiquity, apart from the contents of museums, are extremely few. But this paper deals with a city and a period in which conditions were very different, with mediaeval and to some extent Turkish Constantinople. In this city, until the destruction worked by the Crusaders in the fatal year 1204, great numbers of works of ancient sculpture were still to be seen in the streets and open places. When the capital of the Roman world was transferred from Rome to Byzantium, the emperors decorated the new capital with treasures of art from all the cities of Greece, and these remained in their places, naturally with certain losses, due for the most part to fires and earthquakes, but without any very serious diminution, until the warriors of the Fourth Crusade, diverted

from the Holy Land, came to Constantinople, took the still virgin city, sacked it, and shattered or melted down almost all the priceless works of antiquity. What they spared have, since the final siege, been gradually disappearing under Turkish rule, so that to-day we see only an infinitesimal remnant of the ancient treasures of the city.

Now, although Byzantium was the most learned city of its age, this learning, which did not exclude many superstitious and to us quite fantastic ideas, was the property of a few: the crowd knew little of books; to them the monuments were the sole evidence of the earlier pagan world. Antiquity in the two ancient cities, both in the old Rome by the Tiber and in the new Rome by the Bosphorus, was hardly known by the people from literature at all, whilst at the same time its visible remains, great buildings, columns and statues, reliefs and inscriptions, were ever before men's eyes and demanded some explanation of their existence. The object of this paper is to show how these remains of antiquity were regarded by men, learned and lay alike, astonished at their greatness and ever avid for the most part of miracles and wonders. And it was not only the inhabitants of the cities who needed this satisfaction: to both places, as to Jerusalem, there was a steady stream of visitors, merchants or pilgrims, who as strangers would be perhaps more energetic in their demands than the natives themselves, the edge of whose curiosity was no doubt dulled by use and custom. To Jerusalem pilgrims began to come from the very time of the Christianising of Europe, and have continued to our own day in the crowds of simple and enthusiastic Greek and Russian monks and peasants with their pious guide-books, *προσκνητάρια*, to the sacred sites of the Holy City. Rome was only less attractive than Jerusalem, whilst to Constantinople, as a great centre of trade, came foreign merchants, as well as the pilgrims from the orthodox East, who came to revere the relics brought from many sources to the sanctuaries of

the great city by the piety of the Christian emperors from Constantine the Great downwards. In what light did all these men look upon the buildings and statues left by the ancients, and how did the inhabitants of the cities explain them both to their visitors and to themselves?

We may pass over the simple but common view that marble statues were a convenient source of lime for making excellent mortar, and that ancient works in bronze could be easily and piously converted into bells for churches, or, as the Crusaders did on so large a scale, melted down to be coined into money. These were the ideas of the lordly builders of castles and of the devout followers of Peter the Hermit and Foulk of Neuilly: even much later did not Urban VIII. make the columns for the baldacchino of St. Peter's and cannons for his castle of St. Angelo from the bronze which he tore from the roof of the Pantheon? Whence the epigram—*Quod non fecerunt barbari, fecerunt Barbarini*. The vulgar, although just as strictly practical in their ideas as their betters and doubtless not averse from doing a little quarrying in any convenient theatre or aqueduct, did not look only in this way upon the relics of antiquity.

Constantinople is a convenient centre for this enquiry, because it furnishes us with two requisites, material and information. The city, we have seen, was filled with ancient works of art, which survived for the most part until the Latin conquest, and the Byzantine writers have preserved for us a good deal of knowledge of what these were and what people thought of them. We have two important Greek sources, and, though both the authors were men of learning, they show in what they tell us about the statues hardly any attempt to rationalise: they frankly present us with the popular view of the matter. The earlier of the two is the compilation *De Signis, About the Statues*, dating from the eleventh century, to which the name of George Codinos is traditionally attached, and with this



may be reckoned the accompanying treatise *De Aedificiis*. The second book is the appendix to Nicetas Choniates' account of the Fourth Crusade, also called *De Signis*. Both are lists of the statues, reliefs, and columns of the city : the work of Nicetas is much the better and his accounts of the monuments are much fuller, although he does not give us actually so many items as we find in the drier epitome of Codinos.<sup>1</sup>

From other Byzantine writers, Malalas, Zonaras, Photios, and many more, a certain amount is to be extracted, but after Nicetas and Codinos the richest source is not Greek at all, but is a Turkish writer of the seventeenth century ; this is a certain Evliya Efendi, or Evliya Chelebi, Master Evliya, born in 1611, who wrote an account of his travels in the Turkish empire, with a long and interesting account of Constantinople, and this is fortunately included in the part of the work translated into English.<sup>2</sup> Although Evliya was a Turk, yet in what he tells us of the monuments of the city there is no doubt a great deal of popular lore derived by the Turks from the Greeks. We must remember that many, in fact most, of the Greeks survived the Turkish conquest. The massacre lasted only a few hours ; even the Turks were not long in awaking from the first delightful transports of blood and lust, and realising that it would be more profitable to make use of the population than to kill it, and from these survivors they will have come to learn the

<sup>1</sup> Codinos, Nicetas, and the other Byzantine historians are quoted by the pages and lines of the Bonn edition.

<sup>2</sup> *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, in the Seventeenth Century*, by Evliya Efendi, translated from the Turkish by the Ritter Joseph von Hammer ; 2 vols., printed for the Oriental Translation Fund, London, 1850. Von Hammer (vol. i. p. xiii) expresses a doubt if Evliya ever wrote his European travels, but I owe to the kindness of Mr. Leonard C. Wharton the information that his travels in Hungary have actually been translated into Hungarian (Pest, 1864). The *Advertisement* to Von Hammer's book warns us that he abridged the original, and Hungarian is a language not known by many : a fresh translation of the whole into English is much to be desired.

current traditions about the chief monuments of the city, just as they picked up the popular Greek ideas about the wise men of old, ideas to be found not only in the writings of Evliya but also in the Turkish folklore of our own day.<sup>3</sup> This continuity between Greek and Turkish tradition will appear very clearly when we come to discuss the talismans of the city.

This Evliya was a man of some book-learning, but this was entirely of the things of Islam ; of his Greek predecessors he only knew what is at this moment of interest to us, the oral traditions of the people, and of these he tells us a good deal. He was a close observer with a love of detail, and a gusto for enjoyment, and particularly for eating and drinking, as vivid as that of Samuel Pepys himself : I cannot refrain from quoting his remark about the famous chestnuts of Brusa, which, he tells us, when cooked with meat "grow so succulent that it is almost impossible to leave off eating them until one dies." <sup>4</sup>

So much for the sources: we shall presently see what they teach us.

Our own interest in ancient works of art is in general twofold: primarily we take pleasure in their beauty, but they have also an appeal to us from their place in the history of art, and from the light they throw upon the ideas and civilisation of their makers. We have, that is, both the aesthetic and the scientific interest. Of this latter the

<sup>3</sup> But with regard to the Turkish traditions about the Greek sages, another possibility must not be left out of sight. Turkish learning, being Islamic, rests upon the learning of the Arabs, and to the Arabs the ancient Greek writers were well known. It is possible, therefore, that Evliya's knowledge of Galen, Hippocrates, Plato, and the rest may be derived, not from the Turkish contact with the Greeks in Constantinople and the Eastern Empire, but from the Arabic books in which to some extent the light of ancient Greek learning was handed down. This reservation of course does not touch Evliya's knowledge of the actual monuments of the city, which the Turks saw for the first time after the conquest.

<sup>4</sup> *Narrative of Travels*, vol. ii, p. 18.

inhabitants of Constantinople, in common with all the world at their time, had not much ; or rather their appreciation of ancient statues and buildings as objects of knowledge was as incorrect as their notions of their origin and nature. I give an example : the Colosseum at Rome is to us a building used for the exhibition of various sports and spectacles and of the horrors of Christian martyrdoms, and of these sports and martyrdoms we have a tolerably correct idea. Our knowledge of the facts would now forbid us to believe that it was " a Temple of the Sun of marvellous greatness and beauty, all covered with an heaven of gilded brass," but yet this is the account of it in the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, the standard guidebook of the more learned visitors to Rome from the twelfth to the fifteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Our means of knowledge were not then available, and their place was filled by the numerous fancies which form the subject of this paper.

But aesthetic appreciation was by no means lacking at Constantinople amongst men of education. How genuine this was we shall, I think, at once feel if we read the description given by Nicetas of a statue of Helen which was destroyed by the Crusaders. After making whatever deductions we please for falseness in the gold of Byzantine rhetoric, we cannot fail to see that the writer was really moved by the beauty of the statue. He begins thus : <sup>6</sup> " What of the white-armed Helen with her fair ankles and her slender neck, she who brought all Greece to Troy ? Could she soften those men who were right hard to soften ? Could she make tender those iron hearts ? Nay, nothing at all in such a way could she avail, she who led every spectator into captivity by her beauty. Adorned as though to please in a theatre, her dewy freshness was plain,

<sup>5</sup> The *Mirabilia* I quote from the English translation (*The Marvels of Rome*) by F. M. Nichols, published at Rome in 1889. The account of the Colosseum is on p. 62.

<sup>6</sup> Nicetas, 863 3 to 864 8.

although she stood in bronze. She showed in her robe, in her veil, in her diadem, and in the braiding of her hair, a suppleness to win the love of men. And her lips were slightly open like a flowerbud, so that she seemed to be speaking. And her charming smile, which went straight out to meet the spectator and filled him with delight, and the brightness of her glance, and her arched eyebrows, and all the other shapelinesses of her body, were not such as can be described and brought before those who shall come after us. But, O Helen daughter of Tyndaros, beautiful essence of beauty, flower planted by the loves, guarded by Aphrodite, most excellent gift of nature, prize contested for by Trojans and Greeks, where was thy soothing drug which the wife of Thon gave to thee? Where the philtres against which no man can strive?" And much more to the same effect.

A study of the evidence, however, brings into prominence a series of ideas as far removed from the aesthetic as they are from the truly historical. In the first place the area of Christian antiquity was largely increased by false attributions and fancied explanations, due naturally to the great interest felt, especially by pilgrims, in all that was concerned with the Christian faith: not a few pagan remains became invested with a religious character to which they had indeed few historic claims. Certain rock-tombs at Jerusalem have in this way been converted into the sepulchres of Jewish kings<sup>7</sup>; in Crete near Candia there was an ancient monument traditionally called the Tomb of Caiaphas.<sup>8</sup> The process is exactly parallel to the attempts

<sup>7</sup> For a description of these so-called Tombs of Jehoshaphat and Absalom and the Pyramid of Zacharias v. Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria* (1898), p. 94.

<sup>8</sup> Reported by N. G. Politis (Λαογραφικὰ Σύμμικτα, ii. p. 62, and Παραδόσεις, No. 189 and p. 792), who refers to the apocryphal Acts of Pilate. The passage runs: "On the way Caiaphas died in Crete; the earth would not receive his body, and he was covered with a cairn of stones" (M. R. James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 157).

to bring certain chosen pagans into the Christian fold, which produced both in literature and art a shadowy, half-pagan, half-Christian limbo, peopled by the Sibyls with their prophecies of Christ, and not only Virgil's Sibyl of Cumae, but by a whole series of Sibyls, Libyan, Erythraean, Pontic, and the rest <sup>9</sup>; by Virgil himself, on the strength of the Fourth Eclogue; by Statius; by Augustus, with his vision of a virgin on an altar carrying a child in her arms, still commemorated by the dedication of the church of Ara Coeli on the Capitol at Rome <sup>10</sup>; by the virtuous emperor Trajan, who had mercy on the widow, and so was given, by the victorious prayers of St. Gregory, a place in Paradise.<sup>11</sup>

When men with this tendency of thought came to handle ancient monuments, they did not find it hard to add to their interest by mixing the new with the old, giving thus a Christian consecration to what was in itself pagan. So, when the first Christian emperor Constantine brought the mysterious Palladium from Old Rome to his new capital and placed it under the column which still stands and bears his name, he gave the ancient "luck" of the city an added sanctity by placing with it a number of Christian relics. Thus, we learn from a recent book on the sanctuaries of Constantinople that, apart from the oratory constructed at the foot of the column, there were in the column itself, or rather under its base, the twelve baskets which contained the fragments left after the miracle of the multiplication of the loaves, the axe used by Noah in making the Ark, the crosses of the two thieves, and the jar which had contained the ointment offered by the Magdalen. The column thus

<sup>9</sup> For the Sibyls in Christian art, v. R. H. Hobart-Cust, *The Pavement-Masters of Siena*, pp. 31 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *The Marvels of Rome*, p. 37.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 15. Cf. also Dante, *Purg.* Canto x. 73 :

"l'alta gloria  
Del roman prince, lo cui gran valore  
Mosse Gregorio alla sua gran vittoria."

ranked amongst the most important objects of veneration in the city.<sup>12</sup>

But the monuments thus brought into connection with the new religion, and so made of primary interest to all Christians, were not many, and the general character given to ancient structures by mediaeval fancy, certainly in Constantinople, was not this : they were rather regarded—and this is the central idea of my paper—as the works of powerful magicians of the days of heathendom ; days of which the legend had remained that men were then more learned and had more mastery over nature than Christians had, or perhaps ought to have. Their learning, inspired by the gods or demons of paganism, was from the Christian point of view of a questionable character, but of its greatness there was no doubt. The men of old were regarded as wonder-workers, magicians, doctors, and sages, and the works they left had been endowed by their arts with all sorts of magical powers and gifts, or could give lessons in wisdom to such as were able to read their meaning. The world which had produced these wonders was indeed for the most part outside Christendom, excepting so far as a few of the heathen could, like Virgil, be in some measure brought into the light, and too close dealings with its ancient science was not without perils for the soul, but the monuments had not for all that much of the devilish aspect of paganism : the quality which chiefly impressed men was the great power and supernatural skill of the ancients. It is true, no doubt, that there were some few pagans who survived through the memory of their execrable crimes, and these wicked were converted, with the gods whom they had served, into demons and bogies. Thus we hear at Rome of a tower by the Porta del Popolo haunted by the unquiet ghost of Nero, *turris ubi umbra Neronis diu mansitavit*, and in the neighbourhood of this tower and of the tomb of Nero the church of Sta Maria del Popolo was

<sup>12</sup> J. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance*, Paris (1921), p. 73.

founded, apparently to disinfect a site rendered dangerous to Christian people by the presence of the demons of ancient heathendom.<sup>13</sup> But Nero, the type of a persecutor of the church, was a special case: in connection at least with buildings and works of art the stress was laid upon the virtuous and learned men of old, the powerful kings, the skilful and benevolent magicians and sages. Of this kind are all the stories preserved by our authorities about the statues and works of art of Constantinople. The contrast between heathendom as such and Christendom is an idea which does not appear much in Byzantium: the sense of continuity with the Greek past was probably too strong. There seems to have been no feeling that the relics left by the ancients were impure or ungodly, but simply that they were at once beautiful, and of greater power and efficacy in the sphere of magic than anything which could be produced by men of their own day.

This power with which the statues or other works were gifted appeared in various ways. It will be convenient to begin with cases of the simplest kind, where we find that the statue or inscription is believed to embody a prophecy which could be read by the understanding spectator. The statue disclosed the future, generally the fate of the city itself. Thus Codinos tells us of an equestrian statue, which some called Bellerophon and others Joshua the son of Nun, brought to Constantinople from Antioch. The square base of the statue, he says, has on it engraved histories, by which he means figured representations, of

<sup>13</sup> A tower near the Porta del Popolo is marked with this inscription on a mediaeval map of Rome described by Nichols in *The Marvels of Rome*, p. 195. Another version of the map calls it *turris spiritus Neronis*. Gregorovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages* (Hamilton's translation, vol. vii. p. 684), gives us the story of the church of Sta Maria del Popolo. According to the legend the original church was built about 1099 by Paschalis II., after he had cut down a demon-haunted nut-tree, which stood on Nero's grave. This was on the Pincian hill above the site of the church, which stands just inside the gate, and apparently quite near the tower.

the last things of the city, when it shall be sacked by the Russians.<sup>14</sup> It may be noted in passing that this prophecy about the Russians, supposed to be the *ξανθὸν γένος*, the *blonde race*, alluded to in the Oracles of Leo the Wise, lasted long in Constantinople ; in the eighteenth century it was connected with the ambitions of Catharine of Russia, and is even now hardly quite dead.<sup>15</sup> Codinos goes on to say that " on the great hollow column and on the Xerolophos," that is on the columns of Theodosios and Arcadios, were the stories of the end of the city in sculptured representations.<sup>16</sup> Constantine too, he tells us, made also a pillar that has on it figures and letters which show what will be the end of the Greeks.<sup>17</sup> And at the Strategion, on the shore of the Golden Horn beneath Santa Sophia, there was a tripod which has on it the past and the present and the things that are to come.<sup>18</sup> Many other instances of prophetical works might be given.<sup>19</sup>

These examples lead us to a notion very close to that of simple prophecy. Just as the magician, the man of power, is akin to the prophet, so the prophetic object is easily conceived of as having power to bring about its own fulfilment ; it is by the same process of thought that the man who prophesies evil is regarded, not as a useful monitor, but as a malignant person whose prophecy really brings about the

<sup>14</sup> Codinos, 43 3.

<sup>15</sup> For the various editions and versions of these oracles, *v.* Krumbacher, *Geschichte d. byzant. Litteratur*.

<sup>16</sup> Codinos, 43 10.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 44 16.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 48 20.

<sup>19</sup> *E.g.* Codinos speaks of prophetical statues in the forum set up by Apollonios of Tyana (69 7), and of others in the Hippodrome, where Apollonios made brazen gates with all the representations of the last days and of the future (54 19 to 55 6). Galen too, he tells us (41 14 to 42 7), interpreted figures of animals set up by Constantine as " hieroglyphics and astronomical works to foretell the future." Codinos has another passage (56 1 to 57 8), about the seven philosophers who came from Athens with Eudocia the wife of Theodosios II., and how they interpreted the enchanted statues in the Hippodrome. Much more might be collected.



coming woe. The physician Galen, Codinos tells us, interpreted certain reliefs put up by Constantine the Great as foretelling the death of the emperor Zeno ; Zeno heard of this and had Galen put to death.<sup>20</sup> It may be remarked in passing that the chronological error in the date of Galen, who really lived at the end of the second century, is characteristic.

Nor were the prophets of woe the only sufferers ; objects that were thought to have power to bring about the fulfilment of the prophecies they embodied were sometimes, not unnaturally, destroyed in order to prevent the coming of the disaster. The accounts which we have of the death of the usurping emperor Mourtzouphlos in 1204 furnish us with a good example of this. Mourtzouphlos was caught by the Latins, who at that time held the city, and was killed by being thrown down from the column of Theodosios. This is what the French chronicler Villehardouin says of the event : " Now hear a great marvel. On this column from which he fell there were images of many kinds worked in marble. And amongst these images there was one shaped as an emperor, and it was in the act of falling ; for it had been prophesied long ago that there would be an emperor in Constantinople who should be cast down from this column. *Et ensi fut cele semblance et cele prophecie averée.*" <sup>21</sup> The Chronicle of the Morea, written a good deal later, has the same story ; it attributes the prophetic image to Leo the Wise, the emperor of the Macedonian dynasty who became a sort of Byzantine Mother Shipton.<sup>22</sup>

This same column from which Mourtzouphlos was thrown gives us another example, drawn equally from the accounts of the Fourth Crusade. Amongst the crusaders was a certain monk Martin, who went on the expedition to acquire relics, the only sort of loot upon which he thought it right to lay his consecrated hands (*sacratas manus suas*),

<sup>20</sup> Codinos, 41 14. <sup>21</sup> *Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. De Wailly, p. 182.

<sup>22</sup> Lines 871-902 (edition of J. Schmitt).

*indignum ducens*, as he puts it, *sacrilegium nisi in re sacra committere*. A fellow monk Gunther wrote in prose and verse an account of Martin's adventures, and from this we learn that on the column from which Mourtzouphlos was hurled there were reliefs representing the prophecies of the Sybils, and amongst others of ships with ladders on them and armed men going up on these ladders to take a city. At these and at the prophecy they contained the Greeks, secure in their virgin God-guarded city, had always laughed as absurd, but when the Latin siege began and they saw the ships drawn up close to the shore under the walls, and the ladders in good earnest laid from the ships across to their battlements, they began to get frightened and to break up the carvings, *arbitrantes se hoc modo infaustum in nostros auspiciū retorquere; quae spes omnino utique cassa fuit, et praefatam sculpturam veri significativam exstitisse certus rei exitus declaravit*.<sup>23</sup>

So few of the monuments mentioned in this paper are now standing, that the possibility that we have at least drawings of these prophetic reliefs described by Gunther is of some interest. The column from which Mourtzouphlos was thrown was, Nicetas tells us, "the high column in the Forum of Tauros"<sup>24</sup>; "near Santa Sophia," says the Chronicle of the Morea<sup>25</sup>; "in the middle of the town," says Villehardouin.<sup>26</sup> This is certainly the column set up in 386 A.D. by Theodosios the Great in the Forum of Tauros (Forum of Theodosios). No trace now remains of it. But a mile and a half away, in the Forum of Arcadios, now known as the Avret Bazaar, was another similar column with a staircase inside and a spiral of reliefs outside, set up by Arcadios in honour of his father Theodosios. Of this

<sup>23</sup> Riant, *Exuviae sacrae constantinopolitanae*, vol. i. pp. 57-126, contains Gunther's narrative. I refer to pp. 104-5, and for the prophecy to p. 112.

<sup>24</sup> Nicetas, 804 23.

<sup>25</sup> Line 887.

<sup>26</sup> *Conquête de Constantinople*, p. 182.

only the stump now remains, but we have a set of drawings of the column and its reliefs made in 1574 and now published by Freshfield. Amongst the reliefs are several representations of ships besieging a city exactly as they are described by Gunther. The monk Martin was a stranger, and in his account of the death of Mourtzouphlos makes one error by saying that he was thrown down, not from a column, but from some pyramidal structure,<sup>27</sup> and it may be that he has confused the two columns and that the prophetic reliefs to which he refers were actually on the Arcadian and not on the Theodosian column; in this case these drawings will give us the very reliefs in which the Greeks saw a prophecy of the taking of the city.<sup>28</sup>

These statues, which are at once themselves prophecies and endowed with power to bring about their own fulfilment, are divided by a very uncertain line from other objects which are, more simply, vehicles of magic power. Of these there were many at Constantinople. One of the oldest was the equestrian statue which Justinian set up of himself; it is described by Codinos. The horse was on the top of a column, and the emperor held in his left hand the ball and cross, signifying his universal dominion over the earth

<sup>27</sup> Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, p. 111 (ch. xxi.), where the structure is so carefully described that it seems to be certainly some actual pyramid.

<sup>28</sup> The publication by Freshfield is in *Archaeologia*, vol. lxxii.: *Notes on a Vellum Album containing some original Sketches of public Buildings and Monuments, drawn by a German Artist who visited Constantinople in 1574*. The most convincing relief is in Pl. xviii. For other drawings of the column, see Ebersolt, *Constantinople byzantine et les voyageurs du Levant*, Paris (1919), p. 68. Theodore Reinach (*Révue des études grecques*, vol. ix. p. 81), lays such stress on these reliefs that he cuts the knot by asserting that the chroniclers are wrong, and that Mourtzouphlos was thrown not from the Theodosian but from the Arcadian column. But the testimony of Nicetas is too strong for this: it is always to be remembered that, according to Robert de Clary (Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 70), both columns had prophetic reliefs of the fortunes of the city. Clary mentions the pictures of the ships which were to destroy the city, but does not say clearly upon which of the two columns they were.

by the power of the faith of the cross.<sup>29</sup> "The right hand," says Codinos, "he has stretched out towards the east, signifying that the Persians should halt and not come over to the land of the Greeks, crying by means of the repelling gesture of his uplifted hand, 'Stay, ye Persians, and do not advance, for it will not be to your good'." The idea is as old as the time of Justinian himself, for it is found in the contemporary historian Procopios, who says that the statue, "was riding, as I think, against the Persians." The gesture of his right hand was to forbid the advance of the eastern barbarians.<sup>30</sup> The latest notice of this statue we owe to Bertrandon de la Broquière who saw it in 1432; by his time the Persians had been superseded by the Saracen holders of Jerusalem, and he says that the figure has "*le bras droit tendu et la main ouverte devers la Turquie et le chemin de Jherusalem par terre, en segne que tout celluy pays*

<sup>29</sup> Codinos, 28. The orb of dominion is one of the elements of the mysterious conception of the Red Apple of European and Byzantine folklore. An early occurrence is in the *Chanson de Roland*, xxxi. (xxix.), where Roland is represented as giving Charlemagne *une vermeille pume*, and saying: *De trestuz reis vus present les curunes*. A reference to John of Hildesheim's *Historia Trium Regum* I owe to the late F. W. Hasluck: Melchior presents Christ with a golden apple, which could be held in the hand, but signified the whole world, made by Alexander from fragments of the tribute of all his vassals, (*The Three Kings of Cologne*, Early Eng. Text Soc. (1886), p. 239). The Red Apple-tree (ἡ κόκκινη μηλιά), is to-day a mysterious realm in the far back parts of Asia, whither the Greeks hope that the Turks will one day be driven.

<sup>30</sup> Procopios, *De Aedificiis*, 182, especially lines 14 and 20. The idea spread to Europe and is found in John of Hildesheim, edition quoted, p. 274, and also in Arabic authors: Qazwini in the thirteenth century says that there were two opinions, and some said that the hand held a talisman to keep off enemies, and others that on the ball was written, "I own the world as long as this ball is in my hand" (J. Marquart, *Osteurop. und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (1903), p. 221). Harun ibn Yahya in the ninth century thought that the right hand was beckoning people to come to Constantinople (*ibid.* p. 220). An old drawing of this statue connected with the name of Cyriac of Ancona was found by Déthier in the library of the Seraglio. It has often been reproduced, and may be seen in *Rev. des études grecques*, vol. ix. p. 84.

*jusques en Jherusalem luy souloit estre obeyssant.*" <sup>31</sup> It was destroyed about 1525, shortly before the visit to the city of Gyllius, who saw fragments of it of gigantic size "carried into the melting Houses where they cast their Ordnance." <sup>32</sup> The appropriateness, the significance, of the attitude of such a statue impressed people, and the transition to the further idea that the gesture had a real actual potency was perfectly natural. Historical fitness of gesture or position and magical power were as close to one another as prophecy and power to bring about the fulfilment.

This Justinian statue is of the sixth century : we may now take an example recorded more than six hundred years later by Nicetas. He tells us that in the Forum of Constantine there stood a bronze statue of Athena some thirty feet high, which the mob destroyed in alarm when they saw the approach of the crusaders. Nicetas gives a description of this work, which was at one time held to have been the Athena Promakhos from the Acropolis at Athens. A part of this description ought to be quoted : it will serve again to remind us that in the midst of all this folly the Byzantines had a real love of the beauty of the works of their ancestors : "The neck," he tells us, "was not covered by the tunic, and in its slender length was a sight of irresistible beauty. And the bronze, obedient to the sculptor's imitative art, was so wrought that even the lips gave the impression that if a man would wait he would hear a sweet voice. And the course of the veins was indicated, and all the body as though fluid fell into the proper curves, and although without life yet as a living thing partook of humanity, the eyes being full of every charm." The statue, the people thought, looked towards the west, and its beckoning hand seemed to them to be calling the crusading armies from the west to attack the city. Nicetas implies

<sup>31</sup> Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, publié par Ch. Scheffer (1892), p. 159.

<sup>32</sup> Gyllius, *The Antiquities of Constantinople* (translated) (1729), p. 129.

that the gaze was not really westward, and that the people had therefore no sound reason for breaking up the statue, which they did in order to hinder the approach of the crusaders ; he even says that in doing this they were fighting against themselves by rejecting the patroness of courage and wisdom. Thus, both Nicetas and the mob, Nicetas half seriously and the mob in deadly earnest, ascribed power to the statue ; he thought that at least a statue of Athena was a good thing to have when a war threatened ; the people thought that her beckoning arm was dangerously encouraging their approaching enemies.<sup>33</sup> It is interesting to note that the French knight Robert de Clary, whose account of the siege has come down to us, gets the story in a much embroidered form ; he says that there were two statues of women ; one, pointing to the west, was inscribed with the words, *Devers occident venront chil qui Constantinoble conquerront*, and the other, which was holding its hand towards a *vilain lieu*, I suppose a latrine, had the words, *Ichil les boutera on*.<sup>34</sup>

Two good examples of magical statues are recorded by the patriarch Photios in his *Bibliotheca*, which is an account with extracts of books read by himself and his friends : these stories, which are quoted from Olympiodoros, contain interesting points which will serve to carry us on to the next notion entertained about statues. " Rhegion," Photios writes, " is the capital city of Brettia, and when Alaric wished to cross over from it into Sicily he was held back ; for an enchanted (*τετελεσμένον*) statue standing there prevented the crossing. And, according to the story, it had been enchanted (*ἐτετέλεστο*) by the ancients, both to keep off the fire from Etna and to prevent the passage of the barbarians across the sea. For in the one foot there was unsleeping fire and in the other water incorruptible. And

<sup>33</sup> Nicetas, 738 11 to 740 10.

<sup>34</sup> Robert de Clary, *La prise de Constantinople*, ch. xci. in Hopf's *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 70.

when it had been destroyed, Sicily afterwards received harm both from the fire of Etna and from the barbarians. And the statue was destroyed by Asklepios, who had been appointed steward of the Sicilian estates of Constantios and Placidia."<sup>35</sup> Here we see how the statue worked: the fire in the one foot was against the fire of Etna, and the water in the other, whatever incorruptible (*ἀφθαρτον*) may mean in this place, had some connection, it is difficult to find a more precise word, with the water of the Straits of Messina, which prevented them from being crossed by the enemy.

The other example also throws light on the use of the words *τελῶ*, *τελετή*, for magical operations. The passage deals with certain silver statues which were found in Thrace, in the reign of Constantios.<sup>36</sup> The statues had a certain magical connection with barbarian peoples; when they were dug up and taken away, they were as if freed from their prison, and the corresponding barbarians were able to invade the lands of the empire. This is the account given by Photios: <sup>37</sup> "The historian (that is Olympiodoros) says that he heard from Valerios, one of the officials, of some silver statues which had been enchanted (*τετελεσμένων*),

<sup>35</sup> Photii, *Bibliotheca*, Berlin, 1825, p. 58, a 20. The fragments of Olympiodoros, who only survives in this scrapbook of Photios, have been collected by Dindorf in *Hist. Graeci min.*, vol. ii.

<sup>36</sup> Constantios reigned from A.D. 353 to 361, and therefore some fifty years before the period of Olympiodoros' activity.

<sup>37</sup> *Bibliotheca*, p. 60, a, 23. J. Gregory, *Notes and Observations upon some Passages of Scripture* (1650), translates (p. 33) Photios' introductory words, *περὶ ἀνδριάντων ἀργυρῶν τετελεσμένων εἰς βαρβάρων ἀποκώλυτον* by *silver statues . . . telesmatically consecrated against the Incursion of the Barbarians*. The whole chapter VII. of this book, headed *Caeci et Claudii*, is devoted to showing that the "blind and lame" of 2 Samuel, v. 6, 8,—"*hated of David's soul*,"—is a contemptuous expression for "*Stoichiodae or Constellated Images of Brass*," which were supposed to guard the Jebusites' fort. These he says were "*telesmatically prepared*," "*Statuary Telesmes* so much celebrated of old which unless they kept the city, the watchman laboured but in vain." To illustrate his meaning Gregory gives this story from Photios and also quotes Nicetas.

to keep back barbarians. For, he says, in Thrace in the days of the emperor Constantios, when Valerios was governor, word was sent that a treasure had been found. And Valerios arrives at the place and learns from the people there that the spot is holy (*ιερόν*), and that by a ceremony performed long ago (*ἐξ ἀρχαίας τελετῆς*) statues had been dedicated there. Then he (Valerios) reports this to the emperor, and receives a letter enjoining him to recover the objects reported. So when the place had been opened up by digging, three statues were found, all made of silver, in barbarian attire, lying down and resting upon their elbows, dressed in barbarian embroidered robes and with long hair, nodding towards the north, that is, towards the country of the barbarians. And when these figures were taken up, presently after a few days first the Gothic nation overruns all Thrace, and a little afterwards the Huns and the Sarmatians were to make an inroad into Illyricum and also into Thrace, for it was between Thrace and Illyricum that the enchanted objects (*τὰ τῆς τελετῆς*) lay, and the figures being three in number seemed to have been magically consecrated against each of the barbarian nations (*καὶ ἐφκει τῶν τριῶν ἀνδριάντων ὁ ἀριθμὸς κατὰ παντὸς ἔθνους τετελέσθαι βαρβάρου*)."

Nicetas gives us another example of this idea, namely that statues or figurines could be so sympathetically connected with an enemy as to hold him back, always so long as they remained in the place where they had been put by their maker. Amongst the prophetic statues we have already mentioned Codinos' account of the statue of Bellerophon with engraved histories on the base figuring the last things of the city. Nicetas gives us another story about this same work, which he says stood in the Forum of Tauros and was of heroic appearance and admirable size. I quote his account: "And this statue some said was Joshua the son of Nun, recognising the man by his hand being stretched out towards the already setting sun, and



by his seeming to command it to stand still upon Gibeon,<sup>38</sup> but the opinion of the majority was that it was Bellerophon the hero, born and reared in the island of Pelops, sitting upon Pegasus. For the horse, like the traditional Pegasus, had no bridle, and was galloping freely over the field scorning, as a horse with both wings and hoofs to carry him, to be backed by any rider. But there was also—and this is my point here—there was also an ancient story that came down to us and was current in all men's mouths, that the figure of a man was concealed in the left fore hoof: some held the tradition that this was some man of Venetian birth, others that he was of some other western nation not at peace with the Greeks, or again one of the Bulgarians. So very often the hoof was made more secure, in order that it might be quite impossible to steal what it was known to conceal within. But when the horse was broken to pieces and sent to the furnace with its rider, they also found the bronze image which was concealed in the horse's hoof, and it was dressed in such a cloak as people weave from lambs' wool. But the Latins who cared very little for what had been said about it, threw this too into the fire."<sup>39</sup> To Codinos the statue was connected with the end of the city, and so it is in this account by Nicetas, but the manner of the magic is very different. Nicetas' story is that in one of the hoofs of the horse a mannikin was concealed, and that this mannikin was sympathetically connected with the enemies of the state; so much so that, if it escaped, then these enemies, Venetian, Bulgarian, or some other hostile people, would be as it were set free to attack them; hence the care taken by the people to see that the hoof did not get loose. As to the facts of the case, we may suppose that what was found when the statue was broken up was a piece of the core, which was taken by those who did not see it for what was expected to be found; the Latins burned it in ignorance that they were burning their own luck. The

<sup>38</sup> *Joshua*, cap. x. v. 12.

<sup>39</sup> Nicetas, 857 15 to 858 18.

foreigners were held back because the figure which represented them was held in confinement: if the figure got loose, so too would the barbarian invaders.

A story still current in Athens contains the same idea. Everyone who visits Athens knows that the open square on the slopes of Lycabettos which is officially called Πλατεία τῆς Φιλικῆς Ἐταιρείας, is never actually known by any other name than Τὸ Κολονάκι, *the Little Column*. Under a piece of a column somewhere near the old women in the nineteenth century buried certain objects, probably rags, which were sympathetically connected with plagues and diseases; if the column were raised, the diseases would get loose and ravage the town.

As to Codinos' story that the statue by means of the histories on the base foretold the end of the city, I think that the horse was probably looked upon as trampling down the city: the danger in the hoofs of a prancing horse brings us close to the idea of the mischievous mannikin concealed in one of these same hoofs. It is in the same order of thought that, in the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, the two horsemen on the Quirinal are regarded as riding upon horses, "which trample upon the earth, that is upon the mighty princes of the world. . . ." <sup>40</sup>

Now such figures as these found in Thrace are very near what we mean by a talisman, and in fact the word in the text of Photios for *to enchant* is τελῶ, for the ceremony by which the statue gets its magic powers τελετή, and the enchanted statue itself is said to be τετελεσμένον. Of this set of words the verb in classical Greek means *to perform, to carry out*, and often *to carry out a rite or ceremony*, and the noun means the *thing or rite performed*; in Byzantine times this meaning developed along ritual lines, and the verb came to mean *to perform a rite*, often *a magical rite*, and the thing over which the rite had been performed was

<sup>40</sup> *The Marvels of Rome*, p. 40. Also πατῶ means not only *to tread, to trample*, but also *to bring to ruin, to ravage*.

called the τέλεσμα. Now this word *telesma* is no other than our talisman, which is the Arabic *ḥilsam*, and appears in Turkish as *tilisim*,<sup>41</sup> so, when Evliya speaks of the talismans of Constantinople, he is in word as well as in fact precisely following the Byzantine authors when they speak of the enchanted (τετελεσμένα) statues, Gregory's "Statuary Telesmes."<sup>42</sup> Many statues were regarded thus as talismans, and the examples will show that they are very close in idea to the silver figures which kept the barbarians from invading Thrace. Evliya is here very useful: he takes entirely this point of view of the monuments of Constantinople; they are to him all talismans made by the wise men of old to secure the safety and welfare of the city. As their makers he enumerates the physician Jalinus (Galen), the Hakim Bokrat (Hippocrates the physician), the Hakim Sokrat, the Hakim Filikus, who appears to be Philip and, as he is called the Lord of the castle of Kavalah, is probably to be taken as the father of Alexander, and of the philosophers Fisaghorat (Pythagoras), whom he calls the Unitarian, as though he were a sort of pagan anticipator of the Moslem doctrine of the unity of God, and inevitably the great pair Aristatalis and Iflatun.<sup>43</sup> On these lines he enumerates the land and sea talismans of Constantinople, all of them apparently being works of ancient art, statues, columns, and so on; amounting in all to seventeen talis-

<sup>41</sup> A difficulty in the word talisman is the final *n*, which the derivation directly from the Arabic *tilsam* does not explain. But as the mediaeval Greeks pronounced τέλεσμα with a final *n* as τέλεσμαν, the *n* presents no difficulty if we suppose that the derivation of talisman is directly from the Greek. The Arabic form will be an independent borrowing from the Greek. The *New English Dict.* cautiously says that Talisman "ultimately represents" the Arabic, and refers to Salmassius, *Hist. Augustae Scriptores VI.*, where Saumaise, in his notes on Flavius Vopiscus, p. 360, says *Talisman . . . Graeca vox est, et ex Graeco sumpta, sed modico flexu in Arabismum detorta. Nam Talisman est τέλεσμα, hoc est τετελεσμένον τι*. A further argument in favour of τέλεσμα being the parent of all these forms is that, so I am told, there is no proper Semitic derivation for the Arabic word.

<sup>42</sup> *Notes and Observations*, quoted above (n. 37), p. 33.

<sup>43</sup> *Narrative of Travels*, vol. i. pp. 16 to 20.

mans affecting the land and six the sea, and besides these "twenty-four columns round Istambol, each bearing a talisman." But he knew that the ancient works of art still to be seen in the city in the seventeenth century were but a feeble remnant of what had once been there, and he puts this by saying that there had formerly been many more, as many as three hundred and sixty-six, one that is for every day in the year, but most of them fell down or ceased to work when Mohammed was born, damaged, as he says, by the earthquake "during which the Pride of the World was called into existence." "Wonderful talismans, they say, were destroyed in the time of that Asylum of Apostleship, and are now buried in the earth." The idea is like the Christian belief that at the birth of Christ all idols fell down and all oracles ceased.

Evliya tells us of more talismans than the Greeks do, but his are of exactly the same nature and sometimes identical with those recorded by his predecessors: the lore of the Turks in this sort was clearly simply taken over from the Greek inhabitants of the conquered city. From the examples which I shall now give it will be plain that Codinos and Evliya are of precisely the same way of thinking about the "statuary telesmes."

"A bronze gnat and a fly and other small insects stood," Codinos tells us, "on the western apse of the Forum of Tauros: they were enchanted by Apollonios of Tyana, and as long as they were standing neither flies nor fleas nor gnats were to be found in the city. But the emperor Basil, through the ignorance natural to him, took them down and destroyed them."<sup>44</sup> This is like Evliya's fourth talisman, which was, however, not in the same part of the city. There were, he tells us, at the place called Alty Mermer—the Turkish for Six Marbles<sup>45</sup>—six columns, "every one of which was an

<sup>44</sup> Codinos, 124 5.

<sup>45</sup> The quarter of the Seventh Hill was called Exokionion, and this was corrupted to Hexakionion, *the place of six columns*, and this put into Turkish produced the modern name Alty Mermer, *Six Marbles*.

observatory, made by some of the ancient sages. On one of them, erected by the Hakim Filikus, lord of the castle of Kavalah, was the figure of a black fly made of brass, which, by its incessant humming drove all flies away from Istambol." And "on another of the six marble columns—this is his fifth talisman—Iflatun (Plato) the divine made the figure of a gnat, and from that time there is no fear of a single gnat's coming into Istambol." Other talismans kept away other plagues. The Hakim Bokrat placed the figure of a stork on a column; when it uttered a cry, any storks which had nested inside the city died instantly.<sup>46</sup> This was on one of the six columns just mentioned: on another of them Fisaghorat placed in the days of the prophet Suleiman a bronze wolf, to keep off wolves. The eleventh talisman, "a quadrangular column eighty cubits high erected by an ancient sage named Kirbariya," was against the plague. This function was performed in pre-Turkish times by a bronze equestrian statue, which was destroyed by Mohammed the Conqueror, as we are told by Leunclavius.<sup>47</sup> The talisman against snakes I shall presently describe. Of the sea talismans several were against the attacks of hostile navies. Thus at Seraglio Point there was a triple-headed dragon which spat fire against the ships of the enemy, an account which suggests a reminiscence of some actual engine for discharging Greek fire. There were also two brazen ships: in one of them "all the wizards and conjurers kept guard towards the Black Sea," and in the other, which was in the Galley-harbour, "once a year, when the cold winter nights had set in, all the witches of Istambol used to embark and sail about till morning, to guard the White Sea."<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> For this stork talisman, see the account below of the talismans of Apollonios of Tyana (p. 235).

<sup>47</sup> *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum a Turcis sua lingua scripti*, put into Latin from a German version by Leunclavius, Paris (1650), p. 329: *Erat enim erectus equus aheneus, cui statua quaedam equestris insidebat. . . Fertur autem hac statua pesti praeclusus fuisse aditus.*

<sup>48</sup> The Turkish name for the Mediterranean. The Galley-harbour is the Kadriga Liman (Λιμὴν τῶν κατέργων, —*katérgwon* means *a galley*) on the Marmora near the west end of the Hippodrome.

This latter was taken over from the Greeks, for Evliya tells us that it was part of the spoils captured with the city by Mohammed II. the Conqueror. Another class of talisman provided for the food of the city. On the sculptured column of Arcadios there was a female figure, "one of the beauties of the age," which once a year gave a sound which caused all the multitudes of birds which were flying round her to fall to the ground dead, and so provide the people of Rum with food. This figure was replaced by the Christians by bells and at the birth of the prophet the whole fell down. The Pillar of Theodosios in the poultry market bore the figure of a starling, which once a year clapped its wings and brought all the birds of the air together for the same purpose.<sup>49</sup> And there were also talismans to bring fish to the city. For the troubles of married people Aristotle and Galen had provided. On a column there were the figures of a youth and his mistress in close embrace; if a man and wife quarrelled and one of them went and clasped this column, they were reconciled through the power of this talisman, which was moved by the spirit of the sage Aristotalis. If the case was hopeless, on another column Galen had put figures of an old dotard and a hideous hag: those who wished to get rid of their partner had only to embrace the column and a separation was sure to take place.

The talismans against snakes are of especial interest, as Evliya here describes one of the few monuments still left *in situ*. Nicetas tells us what was the talisman in his time.<sup>50</sup> "There was," he says, "in the Hippodrome a bronze eagle set up, a device invented by Apollonios of Tyana and a magnificent example of his skill in magic.

<sup>49</sup> The Pillar of Theodosios was in the Forum of Tauros. Close by is the Mosque of Sultan Bajazet, popularly called the Pigeon Mosque, from the pigeons which throng it, and it looks as if Von Hammer's translation "in the poultry market" had some reference to these birds.

<sup>50</sup> Nicetas, 861 16.

For having once come to the people of Byzantium, he was asked to charm away the snakes from whose bites they were then grievously suffering. And so he, making use of course of those secret arts of which devils are the masters, and all those who have to do with their rites, set up an eagle upon a column." He then goes on to describe this work, which was a group composed of an eagle soaring and holding in its claws a snake. This figure of a snake being killed by an eagle served magically as a talisman to kill, or at least to frighten away, all the snakes. The snake in the grip of the eagle was prevented from doing any mischief, just as the mannikin was kept safely boxed up in the hoof of Bellerophon's horse. This statue was presumably destroyed by the Latins, for in the time of Evliya the snakes were kept at a distance by another talisman, and this was the famous column made of three entwined bronze serpents, which was originally set up at Delphi to commemorate the battle of Plataea. It was transferred to Constantinople and set up in the Hippodrome, where its mutilated remains are still to be seen. Originally at the top of the column were the three outstretched heads of the serpents, which served to support the three legs of a tripod. This has long since disappeared, as have also the heads, one said to have been struck off by the Turkish conqueror.<sup>51</sup> The column is described by Evliya as the seventeenth talisman; "A sage," he says, "named Surendeh, who flourished in the

<sup>51</sup> This the Turks believed, for we have the story in Leunclavius, *op. cit.*, p. 329. Evliya differs in ascribing the act to Sultan Selim the Sot. The Conqueror seems to have struck off the lower jaw only. But the dates of the progressive mutilations are very obscure; some time in the eighteenth century it was certainly as we see it now, with no heads at all. The question is treated by Ebersolt, *Constantinople byzantine*, pp. 130, 162, note 2, and p. 176. J. Marquart (*Osteurop. und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, note on p. 236), gives the opinion that Harun ibn Yahya in the ninth century knew of the serpent column as a talisman against snakes, but the text of Ibn Yahya (*ibid.*, p. 222) describes a group of four bronze snakes biting their tails, which can hardly be the triple serpent column of Plataea, where the snakes are three, and cannot possibly be taken as biting their tails.

days of error—that is, before Mahomet—under King Puzentin, set up a brazen image of a triple-headed dragon (*azhderha*) in the At Meidan (Hippodrome), in order to destroy all serpents, lizards, scorpions, and suchlike poisonous reptiles; and not a poisonous beast was there in the whole of Makedoniyyah. It has the form of a twisted serpent, measuring ten cubits above, and as many below the ground. It remained thus buried in mud and earth from the building of Sultan Ahmed's mosque, but uninjured, until Selim the II., surnamed the drunken, passing by on horseback, knocked off with his mace the lower jaw of that head of the dragon which looks to the west. Serpents then made their appearance on the western side of the city, and since that time have become common in every part of it. If, moreover, the remaining heads should be destroyed, Istambol will be completely eaten up with vermin." All three heads have now disappeared; visitors to Constantinople must decide whether Evliya's foreboding has been fulfilled; it will depend a good deal upon the season of the year and upon the hotel. The king Puzentin is clearly a version of the eponymous founder of the city; the sage Surendeh I have not identified.

Many such talismans were attributed to Apollonios of Tyana, and although the case is not proved, it is more than probable that these were ancient works of art. Malalas, writing in the sixth century, tells us that he made in Constantinople, as well as other marvels, a talisman against storks, a talisman of the river Lykos which flows through the city—we may suppose against the danger of floods—a tortoise talisman, and a horse talisman, and in the writer's own city of Antioch talismans against gnats, against scorpions, and against the north wind.<sup>52</sup> The stork talisman

<sup>52</sup> Malalas, 263 18 to 266 11. We know what this horse talisman was from Harun ibn Yahya, who wrote in the ninth century: he tells us that Apollonios of Tyana on the Emperor's gate set up three iron horses to prevent horses from neighing and fighting (J. Marquart, *Osteurop. und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 222).



may well be the same figure as that of which Evliya tells us, set up by Hippocrates to prevent storks from entering the city, and of this talisman too we learn more from Tzetzes' account of Apollonios. He tells us that the city was being attacked by barbarians and the empress by her enchantments procured innumerable pots each enclosing a snake; these were hurled against the enemy by means of slings, and so the city was delivered. The snakes were then consumed by a host of storks, but these dropped so many of the dead snakes into the cisterns that the water became poisoned, and Apollonios came to the rescue with the talisman against storks.<sup>53</sup>

Now the magical power of talismans of this sort is in their relation to some object or class of objects; the bronze fly represents all the flies of the city, the serpent column all the snakes, and so on. Here we are again near to the idea of the figures of barbarians found in Thrace and the mannikin concealed in the hoof of the Bellerophon statue; the idea, that is, of a work of art sympathetically connected with some existence outside itself, with some class of men, with some individual, with the city: we have in fact statues which may be called the "luck" of that class or individual, what the Greeks called its *στοιχείον*, and the nature of the luck is such that, if it comes to grief, so does the person or thing with which it is sympathetically connected. This role was played by many ancient works, all following the Palladium of Rome, which had been brought to Constantinople and buried under the Column of Constantine; of several statues we are told that they were the luck or fortune of the city (*ἡ τύχη τῆς πόλεως*). The Turks inherited this idea, as we may see from the curious story about the reliefs which adorned the Golden Gate. With these in the mind of the Turks the welfare of the city, or at least the prosperity of their own rule in it, was in some way

<sup>53</sup> Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, iii. 925-949, in a chapter about Apollonios of Tyana.

bound up. The reliefs were on the outside of the gate, and represented mythological subjects: Endymion, the labours of Hercules, the fall of Phaethon, and so on. The story is found in a letter from our ambassador to Constantinople, Sir Thomas Roe, to the Earl of Arundel, for whom he was collecting ancient marbles. Roe tried to acquire these reliefs, but the Turks objected. At last, he induced the surveyor of the city to go to inspect the reliefs, but here a difficulty arose: "The castellano and the people beganne to mutine, and fell upon a strange conceit; insomuch that hee was forced to retyre, and presently sent for my enterpreter, demanding if I had any old booke of prophesy; inferring, that these statues were enchanted, and that wee knew, when they should bee taken downe, some great alteration should befall this cytty. . . . In conclusion, hee sent to mee, to think, nor mention no more that place which might cost his life, and bring mee into trouble; so that I despair to effect therein your grace's service: and it's true, though I could not get the stones, yet I almost raised an insurrection in that part of the cytty." <sup>54</sup> Thus the people were animated by two ideas: first, that with the preservation *in situ* of the reliefs was bound up the welfare of the city, or at least of the Turkish rule, and the reliefs probably were thought to show prophecies of this rule and so to be agents in bringing it about; the disappearance, therefore, of the sculptured prophecy would entail the break-up of its realisation. By some such line of thought we may suppose that these reliefs had become sympathetically connected with the Turkish rule, its "luck" in fact. The second popular idea was that the foreigner wanted to get them into his possession, because he knew from some prophetic book that by so doing he would injure the Turkish state. It is a commonplace in the nearer East, that the Franks, the general name for all

<sup>54</sup> For the whole letter and an account of the reliefs with references, v. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 64-6.

Europeans, possess books in which the learning and magic of the ancients are preserved—why else indeed do we study Greek at the universities?—and that from these books they know the position of hidden treasures, and can determine the meaning of mysterious monuments and inscriptions. That the reliefs on the Golden Gate rather than anywhere else were regarded by the Turks as the Palladium of their domination, is probably due to the special ideas current about this gate. It was through it that the emperors of Byzantium made their triumphal entries into the capital, and the Turks now believe that the conqueror who will take the city from them will enter through this same gate, which is therefore walled up that no one at all may pass through, for it may be that the conqueror will enter as an obscure person and once through the gate become irresistible in power. A similar idea clings to a gate in Jerusalem, also called the Golden, which is in the same way walled up. In this belief about the conqueror of the city entering the Golden Gate, we again have the Turks taking over a Greek notion, in this case too based upon a Greek ceremony, for it does not appear that the Turks ever used the Golden Gate for state entrances. The Greeks had, indeed, already applied this omen of the gate to Basil I., for, when this founder of the Macedonian dynasty reached Constantinople as a simple groom in search of work, it was afterwards noted, and the circumstance is recorded by Zonaras, that it was by the Golden Gate that he entered the city.<sup>55</sup>

A good example of this idea that a statue has a sympathetic connection with people is furnished by a group in the Hippodrome of the Calydonian boar attacking a lion, about which several stories are told. Thus, the miserable blind old emperor, Isaac Angelos, who was restored to the throne by the Crusaders in 1203 and reigned with his son Alexios, gave himself up to imbecile superstitions, whilst his son spent his time in foolish debauchery; Nicetas tells us that

<sup>55</sup> Zonaras, iii. 409 10.

Isaac "attached himself to those who busy themselves with astronomy, and that amongst other things which he did in accordance with their counsels he took down from its base the Calydonian boar which stood in the hippodrome charging with bristling mane, and transferred it to the Great Palace, thinking that by so doing he was deposing the swinish violence and insolence of the mob."<sup>56</sup> That is to say, the boar had a sympathetic magical connection with the mob of the city, whose passions were similar to those of a boar. These passions would be under the control of the emperor if the figure which embodied them were safely under his hand in his own palace, and not left its freedom in the city.

Nicetas gives us another story about this same boar. The empress Euphrosyne, the wife of Alexios III., devoted herself to illegal arts and to divination, and as a result of her studies cut off the snout of the Calydonian Boar, and also had the statue of Heracles by Lysimachos scourged.<sup>57</sup> The other stories about the boar make it as good as certain that her divinations led her to foresee risings of the people against her husband, and that by the mutilation of the boar's tusks—his tusks were bared as he charged the lion—she hoped to render the multitude incapable of attacking their rulers.

It is probably also the Calydonian Boar of which Codinos tells us that it betokened the noisiness of the crowd. Near it too was another object of the same sort: a naked statue which symbolised the shamelessness of those who sold and of those who bought.<sup>58</sup>

Another story about this group of the Calydonian Boar and a lion is told us by Zonaras and by the author of the *Continuation of Theophanes*, but the boar now appears as the

<sup>56</sup> Nicetas, 738 5.

<sup>57</sup> Nicetas, 687 16 to 688 2. The name Lysimachos Stuart Jones (*Select Passages*, p. 204), takes to be an error for Lysippos.

<sup>58</sup> Codinos, 69 3.

double, not of the mob, but of one of the emperors, and the lion of his colleague on the throne, whose name happened to be Leo. The authors tell us that the emperor Alexander, who reigned from 886 to 912 as the colleague of his brother, the Leo the Wise already mentioned, took it into his head, or rather was persuaded by the dealers in magic, that this boar was his *στοιχείον*, his "luck," that it had a mysterious connection with his own welfare, and that the lion against whom the boar was fighting was his own brother the emperor Leo. They told him that to live long and prosperously he must repair the boar, and he therefore had it mended, giving it amongst other parts, a fresh set of teeth, and had it inaugurated with religious ceremonies. But the magicians were humorists; the chronicler tells us that they were ironical in persuading the emperor, who was too stupid to see the point, that the boar was his luck, his double as it were, and in saying this were slyly suggesting his own swinish life (*χοιρόβιον τὸν ἀνόητον ὑπεμφαίνοντες*). Their unkind comparison induced the emperor (*ὁ καὶ χοίρων ἀνοητότερος*)—and this must indeed have delighted the magicians—to restore exactly those parts of the boar (*αἰδοῖα καὶ ὀδόντας*) upon which depended the debauches (*ἀκολασίαι καὶ συσσίτια*) to which he was so notoriously addicted.<sup>59</sup>

A bronze statue of the "Luck of the City" (*ἡ τύχη τῆς πόλεως*) which stood in the eastern apse of one of the Fora, probably the Forum of Tauros, was treated in something the same way as the boar taken away for safety by the timorous Isaac, but in this case the figure was mutilated.<sup>60</sup> Codinos tells us that, at the order of the emperor, Michael Rangabe cut off its hand in order that the popular factions might not be able to revolt. Now Michael I., surnamed Rangabe, came to the throne in 811, some three hundred years or so before the compilation of Codinos was made:

<sup>59</sup> Zonaras, iii. 456 14. *Theoph. Contin.* 379 12 to 17.

<sup>60</sup> Codinos, 68 4.

this means that, in whatever way the statue which the writer saw standing had in fact lost its hand, by his time this explanation had been evolved as a probable reason for the mutilation of a statue which was taken to represent the Luck of the City, and mystically associated with the passions of the popular factions.

Another example is given us by Zonaras.<sup>61</sup> Some one told the emperor Romanos Lecapenos that a statue which stood facing west above the apse on the Xerolophos had been given a magical connection with the life of the Bulgarian Czar Symeon (τὴν στήλην . . . εἰς τὸν Συμεὼν ἐστοιχειῶσθαι τὸν Βούλγαρον), and that, if the head were cut off the statue, Symeon's death would follow. This was done, and at the same hour, as the emperor afterwards ascertained, Symeon was taken sick and died. This was in the year 927.

Zonaras also gives us an example of a "Luck of the City," specially connected with the shipping upon which the people were dependent for their food. In the reign of Anastasios I. (491-518), he tells us, there was a bronze statue of a woman somewhere in the city which was the τύχη τῆς πόλεως. One foot of this figure rested on a brazen ship. The rest of the passage is paraphrased by Gregory : "the ship was a telesme erected against the dangers of that tempestuous sea, and while it stood entire stilled the rage, but some parts thereof being (none knew how) broken off and conveyed away, the sea began to be unruly as before." Zonaras says that the cargo vessels were driven back by the wind, and if the rowers had not been very strong the cargoes could never have been landed, and the people would have died of starvation. "The cause whereof being curiously enquired after and discovered, the broken pieces were solicitously searched, found out and put together again, and forthwith the winds and seas obeyed. And that it might be certainly known that this indeed was

<sup>61</sup> Zonaras, iii. 473, 7 to 15.

the cause why the ships could not safely arrive, the pieces of the brasse were taken away again. Thenceforth whatsoever vessels toucht upon the coast were driven back by the violence of the winds. This confirmed them in their opinion that the breaking of the brazen ship was that which hindred their carriages from coming up to the City. They, therefore, caused the ship to be carefully repaired." <sup>62</sup>

A few more notions remain to be mentioned, in which the same idea of magic power is always present. One of these is the ordeal, the appeal to the judgment of God where human justice was at fault. The ordeal took numerous forms, and appears occasionally in relation to statues, although, if we consider the general view of the origin of ancient works of art, their use for this purpose is rather more like an appeal, not to God, but to the unsanctified but very powerful wisdom of the pagan world. There are a few examples at Constantinople. Codinos tells us of a statue with four horns mounted upon a column; questioned as to the fidelity of a man's wife, the statue with the column would turn round three times if she were guilty, but otherwise would remain unmoved.<sup>63</sup> This was an ordeal not much more alarming, if the lady had courage, than the famous Bocca della Verità at Rome, the slab which now stands in the portico of the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin: it is pierced in the middle by a hole carved like a man's mouth, and this closed and bit off the hand of a liar. The slab is in fact an ancient cover for a drain.

Codinos tells us of another chastity ordeal; this was a statue of Aphrodite which Constantine set up on a column

<sup>62</sup> Zonaras, iii. 141 9 to 142 19, and Gregory, *Notes and Observations*, p. 39, in ch. viii. on *The Golden Mice* (1 Sam. cap vi., v. 5).

<sup>63</sup> Codinos, 119 16. The statue was at the Neorion, probably the old Neorion on the Golden Horn, and it was in a colonnade called the Colonnade on the Horn or the Colonnade of the Horns (κερατέμβολος); it was resorted to by any husband who feared that he was *κερατίας*, what the modern Greeks call *κερατᾶς*. The position on the Golden Horn and the four horns of the statue produced the usual crop of facetiae.

above the Zeugma, a ferry across the Golden Horn, where he also established a brothel. The garments of an unchaste woman who approached were by some mysterious agency indecently raised ; a woman who was blameless could on the contrary come close to the statue without fear. This the sister-in-law of Justin could not do, and she was so much annoyed at the affront that she destroyed the statue.<sup>64</sup>

Lastly, another office performed by ancient statues was that of guardian of hidden treasures left by the great men of old, and they were in this way sometimes regarded as men or demons turned to stone by an enchanter, and perhaps capable of coming to life to punish robbers. Here belongs the story of the statue with *Percute hic, strike here*, written on its forehead ; the man who dug where the shadow of the hand fell, found the entrance to a vault filled with treasure, but came to grief more or less complete if he tried to carry anything off with him. This story was told of a statue in the Campus Martius at Rome ; the learned pope of the tenth century, Silvester the Second, known before his accession as the magician Gerbert, noted where the shadow of the finger fell at midday and dug ; he found the vault lit by the light proceeding from a huge carbuncle, but the treasure was guarded by the figure of a child holding a drawn bow. His servant took up a jewelled knife which lay there, and at once the child let fly the arrow, which struck and put out the light of the carbuncle, and at once the door behind them closed. Gerbert was not, however, to be caught so easily ; he had already got the better of the devil more than once, and was a match for most situations ; he forced his companion to restore the knife, and the two escaped into the upper air. This story is told also of Virgil and of an unnamed *clericus quidam*.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Codinos, 50 7 to 51 11. This story is now attached to the Column of Marcian, which the Turks therefore call the Qyz Tash, *the Maiden's Stone*, v. Meyer's *Reisebücher : Türkei*, p. 259.

<sup>65</sup> For this story, its variants and sources, v. Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, p. 307.



Besides this notion that statues guarded treasure, there was, it might almost be said there is, the much more disastrous idea that ancient statues actually contain treasure. The marble figure of a lion which was set up on the battlefield of Chaeronea had this unfortunate reputation, which led to its destruction just about a century ago. A Greek leader in the War of Independence seized the opportunity given him by the departure of the Turks to pull it down and break it in pieces, in order to get the gold inside it; the lion thus lay in pieces until the beginning of the present century, when the Greek Archaeological Society undid as far as possible the damage done by their ancestor and put the pieces together again.<sup>66</sup>

Codinos supplies us with a mediaeval example. In the reign of Leo the Great (457 to 474 A.D.) the general Arda-bourios found in Thrace a statue of Herodian: he was annoyed at its ugliness, and destroyed it. Inside the statue he found a hundred and thirty three pounds of gold. Upon this the emperor found a pretext to put him to death, not so much, people, and especially the philosophers, said, for his other offences as for having destroyed this statue.<sup>67</sup>

Beneath all these notions and fancies there is one underlying and unifying idea, the power, the learning, and the magical skill of the ancients. The statues in which these qualities appeared can be classed as prophetic works, as statues which had power to bring about their own prophecies, as talismans, as statues in magic sympathy with persons or with peoples, as statues which supplied ordeals, and as statues which were connected with hidden treasure, but this order is convenient only because it helps us to see the ramifications of the one underlying belief: it has no chronological value. Nothing justifies us in going further than saying that the idea of magical potency showed itself

<sup>66</sup> In 1903-4, v. Baedeker, *Greece*, 1905, p. 178.

<sup>67</sup> Codinos, 67 3 to 14.

in these various ways, of which it can at most be said that some are in the logical order more developed than others.

In spite of the attractions offered by more than one byepath, this paper has in its main lines been confined to the one subject, the ideas held by the people of Constantinople about the ancient statues that still adorned their city until the destruction of the empire. The material is so rich that there has been but little need to go further for evidence, but this is not to say that these notions were in any way confined to Constantinople. Wherever ancient statues were preserved, the same ideas prevailed, and most of these stories could have been paralleled from Rome, and perhaps even more easily from Naples, where the place of Apollonios of Tyana, the chief sage of the Eastern Rome, is occupied by the great figure of the mediaeval Virgil. His bronze fly, his marble head, identified with the Bocca della Verità at Rome, which acted as a test of chastity, are exactly like their rivals at Constantinople: like the statue mentioned by Photios which kept back the fires of Etna, Virgil too put up at Naples a statue of a man with a bow stretched towards Vesuvius. The charm was broken by a countryman, who loosed the threatening arrow; it struck the crater and the eruptions began again. Another of his talismans was a bronze horse by virtue of which, so long as it remained unbroken, no horse in Naples could break its back. This horse was still standing in the court of a church until 1322, when it was at last melted down, and the metal used to cast bells: what happened then to the horses is not recorded. The stories of the Virgil cycle would, in fact, have served for this paper almost as well as the records of Constantinople.<sup>68</sup> Much more might have

<sup>68</sup> For these stories *v. Comparetti, Vergil in the Middle Ages*: for the fly, p. 267; for the head, p. 337; for the bowman, pp. 259 and 268; for the horse, p. 268; and also the account in the text above of the talismans of Apollonios.

been said of Apollonios of Tyana, who was especially active at Antioch, where there was also a no doubt ancient mask of Charon, which had the credit of keeping the city free from plague ; this was attributed to a certain philosopher and maker of talismans (τελεστής) Laios.<sup>69</sup> Many cities had talismans, and in the classic lands these were attributed to the wise men of the old pagan times, to which, when they were statues or reliefs, they generally actually belonged.<sup>70</sup>

In another direction also the paper has been limited. On the opinions held about the ancient sages I have touched only so far as their names occur as the makers of magical statues and other objects. A discussion of their other supposed activities would lead to such questions as the work of Plato in draining and irrigating parts of Asia Minor,<sup>71</sup> and to other works of engineering, real or imaginary, attributed to the skill of the ancients. Apollonios of Tyana, so often mentioned as a maker of statues, is a great name in this region also ; nor could Empedocles the Sicilian poet and philosopher have been omitted, for he had the credit of having cut away a great part of the hill upon which Agrigentum is built, and so opening a way for a health-giving wind to blow upon the city.<sup>72</sup>

The conclusion of the matter is that the remains of antiquity were treated as the mysterious products of wisdom, and amongst the works of the wise they took so leading a place because the ancient world was regarded as peculiarly gifted in knowledge and in the arts ; its remains imposed themselves by their greatness and their beauty, and also because the ancients were heathen, and could deal with the hidden secrets of nature in a way which to

<sup>69</sup> Of this we are told by Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, iv. 920 to 924.

<sup>70</sup> The note of Salmasius *ad Vopiscum*, quoted above, has a good deal of this material, but not all his talismans can be said with certainty to be ancient works.

<sup>71</sup> V. F. W. Hasluck, " Plato in the Folk-lore of the Konia Plain," in *Annual of the British School at Athens*, vol. xviii. pp. 265 *et seq.*

<sup>72</sup> V. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 1908, p. 343.

Christians was of a more than doubtful character : witness the stories of sorcery and evil practices which cling to the names of such learned men as the pope Gerbert and our own Roger Bacon. Ancient works of art, therefore, as products of the great sages, were not thought to differ in kind from the magic works of all other times and places ; the statues were taken to be talismans to protect or to threaten, but there were many other talismans which had no connection with antiquity, just as the ancient objects which served as ordeals, like the four-horned animal at Constantinople and the " Mouth of Truth " at Rome, were only a few amongst a great number of such things. Treasures too were kept safe, not only by ancient statues enchanted for this purpose, but by all sorts of mysterious guardians devised by magicians of all ages and places. Again, the view that the statues and inscriptions were of a prophetic nature brings them into line with the innumerable prophetic books and writings left behind by most reputable mediaeval magicians, by Michael Scot, by Leo the Wise, and even in quite modern times by the supposed Greek monk Agathangelos. In a word, the remains of antiquity were treated like everything else imposing and inimitable, and were seen through the general veil of mystery and wonder thrown by popular fancy over all learning and science, whether of their own or of another and greater age.

To defend the subject of this paper before the Folk-Lore Society is unnecessary ; it would amount to a defence of the study of folklore itself. As for its historical aspect, as long as we think it worth our while to enquire into the events of the past, so long it will not be time misspent to search into the mental attitude of past times, into the modes of thought of even the simpler men, who then as now formed the bulk of mankind ; and although the revival of learning, with its new and saner relation to antiquity, has gradually swept away these curious fancies, and popular folly now runs in other lines, there is yet some interest, even

to us who have inherited a more correct view of the ancient world, in the study of what was after all a part of the mental outlook of people of so much learning and culture as the Greeks of Constantinople.<sup>73</sup>

R. M. DAWKINS.

<sup>73</sup> At the meeting of the Society when this paper was read, the Chairman of the evening, Professor J. L. Myres, related that he heard a Turkish attendant in the Museum at Nikosia in Cyprus give to Turkish visitors a moralising account of the origin of the broken figures in the cases: they were kings of old who for their sins had been mutilated, some losing their legs, some their arms, some broken at the waist, and so on. One was even so wicked that he was made not in marble at all, but in fragile clay. This reminded me that one example at least can be found of an ancient statue at Constantinople being made the occasion for similar reflections. Nicetas describes a sculptured group of a basilisk and an asp engaged in a desperate but apparently equal struggle (Nicetas, 866 10 to the end of the book). The animals were probably, as Nicetas tells us not a few people conjectured, a hippopotamus and a crocodile. He goes on to say that such mutually destructive struggles happen not only to beasts but also to nations, "such as those who have marched against us Greeks; who break out into murder one against the other, being destroyed by the power of Christ, who scattereth the nations that delight in war and doth not rejoice in the shedding of blood, and sheweth the just man treading upon the asp and basilisk and trampling down the lion and dragon." In his comparison the asp and basilisk in the group represent the Crusaders with their internecine struggles, and the just man is the Greek who will, as he in fact did, ultimately triumph over both. The popular moralists who held that a naked statue typified the shamelessness of buyers and sellers, give us another example of the same turn of mind (Codinos, 69 3, quoted above).

R. M. D.



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Ancient Statues in Mediaeval Constantinople: Additional Note

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### ANCIENT STATUES IN MEDIAEVAL CONSTANTINOPLE :

#### ADDITIONAL NOTE. (Vol. xxxv., p. 248.)

THE Serpent Column and its mutilation (*n.* 51, p. 234 above). Ebersolt (*Constantinople byzantine*, p. 164, *n.*) refers to De la Motraye, who describes and figures the column with the three heads intact (*Voyage du Sr A. De la Motraye en Europe, Asie et Afrique*, La Haye (1727), vol. i. p. 225, and Pl. XVI.), but omits the evidence of Chishull, which shows that the mutilation took place some time before 1747. Chishull writes :—"The second pillar is of wreathed brass not above twelve feet high, lately terminated at the top with figures of three serpents rising from the pillar, and with their necks and heads forming a beautiful triangle. But this monument was rudely broken from the top of the pillar by some attendants of the late Polish ambassador." (Edmund Chishull, *Travels in Turkey* (1747), p. 40.) The ambassador was Count Lisinski. The mutilation therefore took place in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, and the tradition that it was due to the arrogance of this or that sultan may safely be set aside.

The serpent column as a talisman against snakes gives us a further case of a Greek notion adopted by the Turks. This we know from Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, who passed through Constantinople on an embassy to Timour. He describes the column, and adds :—"The city used to be infested by many serpents and other evil animals which killed and poisoned men ; but an emperor performed an enchantment over these figures and serpents have never done any harm to the people of the city since that time." (*Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand*, A.D. 1403-6. Edited by Clement Markham, Hakluyt Soc. (1859.)

R. M. DAWKINS.

# DUMBARTON OAKS

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Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder

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ANTIQUE STATUARY  
AND THE BYZANTINE BEHOLDER

CYRIL MANGO

## I

TO adorn his new capital on the Bosphorus, Constantine the Great removed a multitude of antique statues from the principal cities of the Greek East.<sup>1</sup> These statues—those that were set up by Constantine as well as by others—continued to grace the streets and squares of Constantinople for the greater part of the Middle Ages. Their number gradually diminished as a result of fires, earthquakes, and vandalism; but an impressive collection of them was still in existence when the Crusaders captured Constantinople in 1204.

The fate of these statues has attracted some attention on the part of archaeologists interested in tracing the history of various masterpieces of ancient sculpture down to their ultimate disappearance.<sup>2</sup> Here, however, we shall be concerned not so much with the statues themselves as with the effect they produced upon the Byzantine spectator. How did he look upon these statues? Did he admire them and derive from them some inspiration for his own artistic creations? Was he, on the contrary, shocked by them, or, perhaps simply indifferent? The purpose of asking these questions is to set up a test case of the Byzantine attitudes towards antiquity. This inquiry offers a further advantage; for, whereas the common folk of Byzantium did not read Homer and Pindar, everyone—the butcher, the candlemaker, and the lower-class saint—could and did look at these statues. What is more, we have some inkling of what they thought of them.

By “antique statue” I mean any statue, whether Greek or Roman, manufactured before the fourth century A.D. Within this broad classification, which included statues of ancient rulers, philosophers, poets, mythological figures, as well as images of animals, I shall be concerned especially with statues of pagan divinities. The nature of the evidence will not, unfortunately, allow me, in most cases, to make a distinction between Hellenic, Hellenistic, and Roman statuary.

## II

The deliberate assembling of ancient statues in Constantinople constitutes something of a paradox. We must not forget that paganism was very much of a live issue, not only in the fourth century, but until about the year 600. Statues of pagan divinities were, of course, an essential part in the celebration of pagan rites. The lives of the saints are full of references to the destruc-

<sup>1</sup> As St. Jerome so concisely put it, *Dedicatur Constantinopolis omnium paene urbium nuditate* (*Chronicon*, ed. Fotheringham [London, 1923]), p. 314<sub>24</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> The only attempt at a full treatment of this subject is Christian Gottlob Heyne's “*Priscae artis opera quae Constantinopoli extitisse memorantur*,” *Comment. Soc. Reg. Scient. Gotting., Class. hist. et philol.*, XI (1790–91), pp. 3–38. Most of the evidence is collected by J. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen* (Leipzig, 1868).

tion of pagan statues. A few examples must suffice. At Gaza there stood in the center of town a nude statue of Aphrodite which was the object of great veneration, especially on the part of women. When, in 402, Bishop Porphyry, surrounded by Christians bearing crosses, approached this statue, "the demon who inhabited the statue, being unable to contemplate the terrible sign, departed from the marble with great tumult, and, as he did so, he threw the statue down and broke it into many pieces."<sup>3</sup> We may doubt that the collapse of the statue was altogether spontaneous. At the end of the fifth century a great number of idols, salvaged from the temple of Isis at Memphis, were concealed in a house behind a false wall. But their presence was detected by the Christians. The statues were loaded on twenty camels and taken to Alexandria where they were exposed to public ridicule and destroyed.<sup>4</sup> In the middle of the sixth century we hear of St. Abramius destroying pagan idols near Lampsacus on the Hellespont, in a village that was totally pagan.<sup>5</sup> At about the same time idols were subjected to popular derision by being hung in the streets of Antioch.<sup>6</sup>

These are a few examples chosen at random. We must also remember that, whereas some Christian thinkers rightly believed that the idols were inanimate, the general opinion prevalent at the time—as we have seen from the incident at Gaza—was that they were inhabited by maleficent demons.<sup>7</sup> Granted this attitude, how are we to explain the fact that the first Christian Emperor used statues of pagan divinities to decorate Constantinople? How was it also that these statues remained for the most part unmolested for so many centuries?

It would be a mistake, I think, to suggest—as some modern scholars have done—that these statues were used simply for decoration. The answer is rather to be sought in the ambiguity of the religious policy pursued by Constantine's government. Nor must we hold Constantine himself responsible: the task of decorating the capital must have been entrusted to subordinate officials—the *curatores*—who were probably pagan, and they simply did the kind of job that was expected at the time.<sup>8</sup> Besides, it has been proved that the foundation of Constantinople was accompanied by purely pagan rites.<sup>9</sup> To a Christian apologist all of this was highly embarrassing; consequently, Eusebius, or whoever wrote the *Vita Constantini*, tried to explain the erection of pagan statues as part of a subtle policy of making fun of the old gods: "The pompous (σεμνὰ) statues of brass," he writes, "...were exposed to view in all the public places of the imperial city: so that here a Pythian, there a Sminthian Apollo excited the contempt of the beholder: while the Delphic tripods were deposited in the Hippodrome and the Muses of Helicon in the palace. In

<sup>3</sup> Marcus diaconus, *Vita Porphyrii*, chaps. 59–61, ed. Grégoire and Kugener (Paris, 1930), p. 47 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Vie de Sévère, Patrol. Orient.*, II, p. 27 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Acta SS. Abramii et Mariae, Acta Sanctorum*, March, vol. II, p. 933.

<sup>6</sup> *Vita S. Symeonis junioris, Acta Sanctorum*, May, vol. V, p. 371B.

<sup>7</sup> Conversely, in the eyes of fourth-century Neoplatonists, idols were animated with divine presence: see E. R. Dodds, "Theurgy and its Relationship to Neoplatonism," *Journal of Roman Studies*, XXXVII (1947), p. 63 f.

<sup>8</sup> So J. Maurice, *Numismatique constantinienne*, II (Paris, 1911), p. 488 f.

<sup>9</sup> A. Frolov, "La dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine," *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, CXXXVII (1944), p. 61 ff.

short, the city which bore his name was everywhere filled with brazen statues of the most exquisite workmanship, which had been dedicated in every province, and which the deluded victims of superstition had long vainly honored as gods with numberless victims and burnt sacrifices, though now at length they learned to think rightly, when the emperor held up these very playthings to be the ridicule and the sport of all beholders."<sup>10</sup>

In addition to the Delphic tripods, Constantine also erected in the Hippodrome the statues of the Dioscuri, whose temple had stood on that spot. On the agora of ancient Byzantium he went so far as to build a temple to the Fortuna of Rome, and to restore another one, dedicated to Cybele, the Mother of the Gods. The statue of Cybele was of venerable antiquity: allegedly it had been made by Jason's companions.<sup>11</sup> In the Senate house Constantine erected statues of the Muses, taken from Mount Helicon, and in front of it he set up on stone pedestals the statues of Zeus of Dodona and Athene of Lindos. The Muses perished in the great conflagration of 404, caused by the followers of St. John Chrysostom, but the gods were unexpectedly preserved: a pagan miracle that gave comfort to the "more cultivated" (τοῖς χαριεστέροις) persons dwelling in the city, as Zosimus tells us.<sup>12</sup> Then, most important, there was the great bronze statue representing Apollo-Helios which Constantine set up in 328 as his own effigy on top of the porphyry column of the Forum; it wore a radiate crown, held a spear in its right hand and a globe in its left. Tradition affirmed that it had been brought from Phrygia.<sup>13</sup>

A great collection of statues was also assembled in the baths of Zeuxippus; these are known to us through a tedious poem by the Egyptian Christodorus, which forms Book II of the Palatine Anthology. In all, eighty statues are described, all of them antique, and most, if not all, of bronze. The greater number represented mythological heroes, but there were also nine statues of gods, many of poets, orators, philosophers, historians, and statesmen. Very few were of Roman origin: a Julius Caesar, a Pompey, an Apuleius, a Virgil, as well as a group of the pugilists Dares and Entellus borrowed from Book V of

<sup>10</sup> *Vita Constantini*, III, 54, ed. Heikel, p. 101. Cf. Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, II, 5, PG, 67, col. 945, who adds to the list of statues one of Pan which had allegedly been dedicated by the Spartan regent Pausanias after the Second Persian War: cf. K. Wernicke, art. "Pan" in Roscher's *Lex. d. griech. u. röm. Mythol.*, III, col. 1408. For Constantine's prohibition of ἐγέρσεις ξοάνων, see *Vita Const.*, II, 45; IV, 25.

<sup>11</sup> Zosimus, II, 31, ed. Mendelssohn (1887), p. 88f.

<sup>12</sup> *Id.*, V, 24, p. 246f.

<sup>13</sup> *Chronicon Paschale*, Bonn ed., p. 528; from Ilion in Phrygia (sic): Malalas, Bonn ed., p. 320; from Ilion or Heliopolis in Phrygia: Zonaras, Bonn ed., III, p. 18. According to another tradition, the statue was a work of Phidias and was brought from Athens: Leo Grammaticus, Bonn ed., p. 87; Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, VIII, 333, ed. Kiessling (1826), p. 295. The statue was thrown down by a storm in 1106, but its head was salvaged and deposited in the imperial palace: Tzetzes, *op. cit.*, VIII, 339. See esp. Th. Preger, "Konstantinos-Helios," *Hermes*, XXXVI (1901), p. 457ff. The attempt on the part of I. Karayannopoulos to cast doubt on the pagan origin of the statue ("Konstantin der Grosse und der Kaiserkult," *Historia*, V [1956], p. 341ff.) has been refuted by S. Kyriakides, "Ιστορικά σημειώματα," *Ἑλληνικά*, XVII (1960), p. 219ff. The presence of a spear in addition to a globe in the hands of an Apollo-Helios need not be considered anomalous if the statue was of oriental origin; cf. the painting of the sun-god Jarhibol at Dura and, possibly, the representation of Apollo-Helios on a stele from Meonia, now at Leiden: both reproduced by E. H. Kantorowicz, "Gods in Uniform," *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, CV/4 (1961) p. 368ff., figs. 25, 36.

the Aeneid. The baths of Zeuxippus were burnt down in 532 and the statues must have perished at the same time. When, in 1928, part of the baths was excavated, two inscribed statue bases were found. They bore the names of Hecuba and Aeschines, both mentioned by Christodorus.<sup>14</sup>

The importation of statues into Constantinople greatly diminished, but did not entirely cease, after the reign of Constantine. Individual statues were apparently brought in under Constantius II,<sup>15</sup> Valentinian,<sup>16</sup> and Theodosius II.<sup>17</sup> A great collection was assembled in the palace of Lausus who was *praepositus sacri cubiculi* in the reign of Theodosius II (406–450) and was perhaps himself responsible for bringing it together. Its jewel was Phidias' chryselephantine statue of Zeus from Olympia. The removal of this masterpiece, which presumably occurred after the suppression of the Olympic festival in 394, is not to be regretted since the temple of Zeus at Olympia burnt down during the same reign. Besides the Zeus, the palace of Lausus also contained a Lindian Athene of emerald four cubits high, the work of Skyllis and Dipoinos; the Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles, made of white marble; the Samian Hera, the work of Lysippus and Boupalos; a winged Eros holding a bow, from Myndos; the Kairos of Lysippus, long-haired in front, bald in back; and many other statues.<sup>18</sup> The palace of Lausus was burned down in 475 and all of these statues were destroyed.<sup>19</sup> The last instance of the importation of antique statues into Constantinople that I have been able to find is of two horses from the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, which were brought under Justinian.<sup>20</sup> It is, however, recorded that Constans II, during his infamous residence in Rome (663), despoiled that city of its ancient bronze ornaments, including even the copper roof tiles of the Pantheon, with a view to having them transferred to Constantinople. The loot was conveyed to Syracuse, but never reached its destination: it fell instead into the hands of the Arabs.<sup>21</sup>

The conflagrations that accompanied the frequent revolts of the fifth and sixth centuries took, as we have seen, a heavy toll of ancient statues. Even so, a great number of them remained. I would estimate their number during the "middle-Byzantine" period at probably over one hundred. We are told that

<sup>14</sup> *Second Report upon the Excavations Carried out in and near the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1928 on Behalf of the British Academy* (London, 1929), p. 18ff.

<sup>15</sup> Statues of Perseus and Andromeda: *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Preger (Leipzig, 1901–07), II, p. 195, § 85.

<sup>16</sup> A statue called Perichytes as well as one of a donkey, both in the Hippodrome: *ibid.*, I, p. 64, § 64; II, p. 192f., § 82. The Perichytes was nude except for a loincloth, and wore a helmet; it was stolen by western merchants some time between 935 and 959: *Vita S. Lucae Stylitae*, ed. A. Vogt, *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXVIII (1909), p. 39f.; ed. F. Vanderstuyf, *Patrol. Orient.*, XI (1915), p. 107ff. For other instances of the theft of statues, see *Script. orig. CP*, I, p. 50 (under Theodosius II); II, p. 253, § 112 (under Caesar Bardas).

<sup>17</sup> Elephants at the Golden Gate (from Athens): *Script. orig. CP*, II, p. 182, § 58; four horses in the Hippodrome, the same as are now on the façade of San Marco (from Chios): *ibid.*, p. 190, § 75.

<sup>18</sup> Cedrenus, Bonn ed., I, p. 564.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 616; Zonaras, III, p. 130. Not in A.D. 462 as stated by A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, III/1 (Cambridge, 1940), p. 970. Cf. A. M. Schneider, "Brände in Konstantinopel," *BZ*, XLI (1941), p. 384.

<sup>20</sup> *Script. orig. CP*, II, p. 165.

<sup>21</sup> Paulus diaconus, *Hist. Longob.*, V, 11, 13, PL, 95, cols. 602, 604. Cf. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, VI (Oxford, 1916), p. 278f. We are not told specifically what the ancient ornaments of bronze were, but it is reasonable to assume that they included statues.

several were destroyed by the Emperor Maurice, apparently to counteract an outbreak of magical practices.<sup>22</sup> Some more were broken by order of Leo III.<sup>23</sup> But apart from these and a few other isolated cases,<sup>24</sup> there is no record of a deliberate suppression of ancient statues by the Byzantine government. Their presence was accepted, and the popular tales that were woven round them aided their preservation.

### III

Byzantine attitudes toward ancient statuary should be considered on two levels: the popular and the intellectual. I shall start with the first.

The popular attitude was based on the assumption that statues were animated. I have mentioned the widely prevalent belief of the early Christians that pagan statues were inhabited by demons. This belief, as interpreted by strict churchmen, dictated immediate action: the statues had to be destroyed. But many statues survived even so, and the demons within them underwent, as it were, a gradual change of personality. From being actively maleficent, they became vaguely sinister; the best thing to do was to leave them alone. Some statues became talismans and fulfilled a useful role by averting various calamities and minor nuisances: palladia fall within this category. Others came to be considered as the magical doubles of prominent men or even of entire nations.<sup>25</sup> In short, as the original significance of the statues was forgotten, a new "folkloristic" significance arose in the popular imagination.

The demons, of course, did not immediately surrender their powers, as a couple of examples will show. On the very day when the Emperor Maurice was assassinated in Constantinople (in 602), a calligrapher in Alexandria, returning home late at night after a party, chanced to pass in front of the temple of Tyche. To his amazement, the statues that were erected there slid down from their pedestals and, addressing him in a loud voice, described the Emperor's downfall. This intelligence was conveyed to the prefect of Egypt, who enjoined secrecy on the calligrapher. Sure enough, nine days later messengers arrived in Alexandria bringing the tragic news.<sup>26</sup> As every Byzantine knew, demons had the faculty of swift locomotion and were thus able to apprehend events that took place at a great distance. This faculty they often passed off as foreknowledge, a gift they did not possess.<sup>27</sup>

Here is a somewhat different example taken from the *Life of St. Andrew the Fool*, a work of the ninth or tenth century. A woman in Constantinople, whose

<sup>22</sup> *Script. orig. CP*, II, p. 181, § 54 ("many statues" at Exakionion); p. 196, § 88 (statue of bull buried); p. 257, § 131 (statue of Tyche).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198, § 90.

<sup>24</sup> E.g. by the Caesar Bardas (864-66): *ibid.*, p. 184, § 61.

<sup>25</sup> See A. I. Kirpičnikov, "Čudesnyja statui v Konstantinopole," *Letopis' ist.-filol. obšč. pri Imp. Novoross. Univ.*, IV, *Vizant. otd.*, II (Odessa, 1894), p. 23ff.; N. G. Polites, Τελέσματα in Λαογραφικά σύμμεικτα, I (Athens, 1920), p. 48ff.

<sup>26</sup> Theophylactus Simocatta, ed. de Boor (Leipzig, 1887), p. 309ff.

<sup>27</sup> See, e.g., Athanasius, *Vita S. Antonii*, chap. 31f., PG, 26, col. 889ff.; John Damascene, *De fide orthod.*, II, 4, PG, 94, col. 877A.

husband was given to dissipation, sought the help of a magician who performed over her certain demonic rites. The immediate objective was thereby achieved: the husband was brought to heel. But soon thereafter the woman began having disturbing dreams in which she saw herself pursued by Ethiopians and enormous black dogs. Then she saw herself standing in the Hippodrome, embracing the statues that were there, "urged by an impure desire of having intercourse with them." It took a saint to rid the poor woman of the demons.<sup>28</sup> We are not surprised that the nude statues of the Hippodrome should have been inhabited by demons of concupiscence; what is surprising is that practically no censure of them was expressed.

Our richest source of statue-lore is a confusing little book called *Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικάι*, i.e. "Brief Historical Expositions," a kind of tourist's guidebook to the curiosities of Constantinople, compiled in the middle of the eighth century. At the end of the tenth century it was reworked and incorporated into a larger work, the *Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, or "Traditions of Constantinople," which has, for a long time, been incorrectly ascribed to one Georgius Codinus.<sup>29</sup> In both of its versions this guidebook is on a very low intellectual level, and may thus be regarded as representing the attitudes of the common man. A few extracts will show what the common man thought about ancient statues.

There was an antique statue purporting to represent Phidaleia, the wife of Byzas, mythical founder of Byzantium. When the statue was removed, the spot where it had stood trembled for a long time, and it required the intervention of St. Sabas to stop the earthquake.<sup>30</sup> Moral: Do not move statues. Leo III destroyed many ancient monuments. Why did he do so? Because he was stupid (*ἀλόγιστος*).<sup>31</sup> Ardaburius, who was Master of Soldiers in the reign of Leo I, found a statue of Herodian (the grammarian?) and destroyed it in his anger; whereupon he discovered 133 talents of gold. He gave this treasure to the Emperor and, instead of being rewarded, was put to death.<sup>32</sup> Moral: Do not destroy statues. Incidentally, we know better why Ardaburius was put to death.<sup>33</sup> Here is a curious story told in the first person: it refers to the years 711-713. The narrator, one Theodore, and his friend Himerius went to the Kynegion, an ancient theatre on what is now the Seraglio Point. There they found a short and broad statue representing a certain Maximian who had built the Kynegion. As they were contemplating it curiously, the statue fell from its pedestal and killed Himerius. Theodore, afraid of a charge of murder, took refuge in St. Sophia. An inquiry was instituted and Theodore was acquitted. A text of Demosthenes (sic) was found stating that the statue in question was fated to kill a prominent man. The Emperor Philippicus had the statue buried because "it did not admit of destruction." The moral is added by our author:

<sup>28</sup> PG, III, col. 776 ff.

<sup>29</sup> Both in *Script. orig. CP*, ed. Preger.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 20f., § 4 = II, p. 195, § 86.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 22, § 5d = II, p. 198, § 90.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 29, § 14 = II, p. 204, § 99.

<sup>33</sup> See J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1923), I, p. 320.

“As thou investigatest these matters truthfully, pray not to fall into temptation, and be on thy guard when thou contemplatest ancient statues, especially pagan ones.”<sup>34</sup>

Other statues fulfilled useful purposes. A statue of Aphrodite served to detect unchaste women until the sister of the Empress Sophia, wife of Justin II, was exposed in this fashion, and had the statue destroyed.<sup>35</sup> A statue having four horns on its head did the same service for deceived husbands.<sup>36</sup> Bronze figures of mosquitoes, bugs, fleas, and mice kept these noxious animals out of Constantinople, until Basil I broke the figures.<sup>37</sup> It was, in most cases, Apollonius of Tyana, who in the Byzantine world enjoyed the same reputation as a great sorcerer as Virgil did in the West, who had endowed such statues with their miraculous powers, both at Constantinople and at Antioch.<sup>38</sup> The rite whereby a statue received talismanic powers was known as *στοιχείωσις*: Psellus tells us how this was done, by the insertion into the statue's cavity of certain mineral and vegetable substances, vessels filled with sympathetic unguents, inscribed seals, incense, etc.<sup>39</sup>

Psellus, perhaps the most brilliant of all Byzantine intellectuals, himself half-believed in this nonsense. It is not surprising, therefore, that emperors and patriarchs should have shared the same belief in the sympathetic properties of statues, especially ancient ones, although some of the stories I quote here may be apocryphal. Thus, Michael I (811–813) is said to have amputated the arms of a statue of Tyche with a view to making the populace powerless against imperial authority.<sup>40</sup> In the second quarter of the ninth century, the very learned Patriarch John the Grammarian averted a barbarian invasion by mutilating a three-headed bronze statue in the Hippodrome. While the patriarch recited incantations, three men armed with hammers struck simultaneously at the three heads of the statue: two of them were cut off, while the third did not fall to the ground. The same fate befell the three chiefs of the barbarian tribe: two were killed, the third was wounded but escaped.<sup>41</sup> This incident is illustrated in the Madrid manuscript of Skylitzes (fig. 1).

<sup>34</sup> *Script. orig. CP*, I, p. 35f., § 28 = II, p. 163, § 24; Suidas, s.v. *κυνήγιον*, ed. Adler, III, p. 213.

<sup>35</sup> *Script. orig. CP*, II, p. 185ff., § 65.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 271, § 179.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 221, § 24; p. 278, § 200.

<sup>38</sup> See J. Miller, “Zur Frage nach der Persönlichkeit des Apollonius von Tyana,” *Philologus*, LI (1892), p. 581ff.; F. Nau in *Patrol. Syriaca*, II (1907), p. 1364ff.; *Catal. codd. astrol. graec.*, VII (1908) by F. Boll, p. 174f.

<sup>39</sup> *Epist.* 187 in Sathas, *Biblioth. gr. med. aevi*, V (1876), p. 474. Cf. E. R. Dodds, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 7), p. 62, who suggests that Psellus drew these prescriptions from Proclus.

<sup>40</sup> *Script. orig. CP*, II, p. 205, § 101.

<sup>41</sup> Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn ed., p. 155f.; Pseudo-Symeon, *ibid.*, p. 649f.; Cedrenus, II, p. 145f. The statue is described merely as *ἀνδρὶός τρισὶ διαμορφούμενος κεφαλῇς* (Hecate?); it could not, in any case, have been the Serpent Column as stated by L. Bréhier (“Un patriarche sorcier à Constantinople,” *Rev. de l'Orient chrétien*, IX [1904], p. 267), since the Serpent Column, as we shall see (*infra*, note 119), retained its three heads until 1700. The identity of the barbarian tribe has caused a great deal of speculation: F. Uspenskij sees here an allusion to a Russian incursion into Byzantine territory before 842 (“Patriarkh Ioann VII Grammatik i Rus'-Dromity u Simeona Magistra,” *Žurnal Minist. Narodn. Prosvěščenija* (Jan. 1890), p. 24f.), while Vasiliev, setting chronology aside, connects this legend with the Russian attack of 860 (*The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860* [Cambridge, Mass., 1946], p. 240f.).



Basil I removed a statue from the Basilica—it was of a seated man holding his chin, and therefore probably represented some ancient philosopher, although it was commonly believed to be that of Solomon—and buried it in the foundations of a church he was building, the Nea Ekklesia. The statue was changed to represent the Emperor who was thus figuratively offering himself in sacrifice (ὥστε θυσίαν ἑαυτὸν τῷ τοιούτῳ κτίσματι καὶ θεῷ προσάγων).<sup>42</sup> The motif of immuring a live person in the foundations of a building, to give it greater stability, is common in Greek folklore.<sup>43</sup>

The dissolute Emperor Alexander, upon becoming impotent, was persuaded by magicians to clothe the statues in the Hippodrome with rich vestments and burn incense before them. The statue of a wild boar was believed to be the Emperor's talisman, and he proceeded to provide it with teeth and genitals which had been missing. For these impious acts he was stricken down by the Lord as a second Herod.<sup>44</sup> A few years later, the decapitation of a statue in Constantinople brought about the death of King Symeon of Bulgaria (927).<sup>45</sup>

In the Forum of Constantine there stood two female statues of bronze. In the twelfth century one of them was known as the Roman, the other as the Hungarian. The Roman statue fell down, while the Hungarian remained upright. This was brought to the attention of Manuel Comnenus who was then fighting the Hungarians. He proceeded to set up the Roman statue, whereas he overturned the Hungarian one, hoping thereby to affect the fortunes of the war.<sup>46</sup>

The Empress Euphrosyne, wife of Alexius Angelus, was addicted to magic and divination. She cut off the snout of the Calydonian boar in the Hippodrome (the same one that had been reconditioned by Alexander) and caused the colossal Hercules of Lysippus to be flogged, a fate, adds our historian, that the hero had not suffered at the hands of either Eurystheus or Omphale. The same Empress had the limbs and heads of other statues broken. What purpose she hoped to achieve thereby, we are not told.<sup>47</sup>

The adventures of the wild boar were not yet over. In 1203 the Emperor Isaac Angelus had him removed from his base in the Hippodrome and taken to the palace, meaning in this way to check the wild fury of the mob. At the same time the populace broke to pieces the great Athena which stood outside the Senate House on the Forum of Constantine. She was 30 ft. high and had her right arm outstretched towards the south. By this gesture, it was thought, she was beckoning to the army of the Crusaders—the mob could not disting-

<sup>42</sup> Leo Grammaticus, Bonn ed., p. 257f.; Pseudo-Symeon, p. 692. The statue is described in *Script. orig. CP*, II, p. 171, § 40.

<sup>43</sup> See, e.g., L. Sainéan, "Les rites de la construction d'après la poésie populaire de l'Europe orientale," *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, XLV (1902), p. 359ff.; N. G. Polites, Μελέται περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ. Παραδόσεις, II (Athens, 1904), p. 1113.

<sup>44</sup> *Vita Euthymii*, ed. de Boor (Berlin, 1888), p. 69; Theoph. Cont., p. 379.

<sup>45</sup> Theoph. Cont., p. 411f.

<sup>46</sup> Nicetas Choniates, Bonn ed., p. 196. Cf. L. Oeconomus, *La vie religieuse dans l'Empire byzantin au temps des Comnènes et des Anges* (Paris, 1918), p. 91.

<sup>47</sup> Nicetas Choniates, p. 687f.; cf. Oeconomus, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

uish south from west—and for this act of treason she was destroyed.<sup>48</sup> But even the Crusaders were not immune to such fancies, for after capturing Constantinople, they took care to destroy the palladia of the city, “especially those which they learnt had been set up against their nation.”<sup>49</sup>

The obvious conclusion to be drawn from the above evidence is that not only the ordinary Byzantine but even persons of high rank viewed ancient statuary through a mist of superstition. But this evidence also lends itself to a deeper interpretation, since it constitutes a chapter of a much-discussed topic, namely the transition from ancient Greek religion to modern Greek folklore. This transition is paralleled by the history of a word: στοιχείον, the Greek term for the astrological *elementum*, was, like the word ὥδιον, commonly used in Byzantine times to designate a statue, more precisely a bewitched statue. This in turn has given rise to the modern Greek στοιχείο, the usual word for a ghost and in particular for a spirit attached to a specific place.<sup>50</sup>

The superstitious re-interpretation of antique sculpture was paralleled by a Christian re-interpretation, although the latter cannot be documented quite as fully as the former. We have seen that a seated statue, probably that of a philosopher, was considered to represent Solomon. Another statue which held a staff with a serpent twined round it (Aesculapius?) was thought to be that of a bishop; Basil I playfully placed his finger in the serpent’s mouth and was bitten by a live serpent that was coiled inside the hollow one of bronze.<sup>51</sup> An equestrian statue in the Forum Tauri which represented either Theodosius I or Bellerophon was regarded as that of Joshua.<sup>52</sup> The statues of Adam and Eve, as they are called in our sources,<sup>53</sup> were probably also antique.

It is perhaps to such a Christian re-interpretation that we owe, in some cases, the re-use of antique reliefs in Byzantine churches. The oldest church of Trebizond, that of St. Anne, has over the entrance door a much weathered relief representing a flying (?) figure and a warrior upon which was inscribed the dedicatory inscription of the year 884–885 (fig. 2).<sup>54</sup> Evidently this relief was considered to be of particular significance to have been used in so prominent a manner. The church of Merbaka in the Argolis has classical

<sup>48</sup> Nicetas Choniates, p. 738ff. On this statue, see R. J. H. Jenkins, “The Bronze Athena at Byzantium,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXVII (1947), p. 31ff., who believes that it may have been the Promachos of Phidias.

<sup>49</sup> Nicetas Choniates, p. 848. Robert de Clari repeats, without a shade of disbelief, the popular tales concerning the statues of Constantinople: *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Philippe Lauer (Paris, 1924), p. 87ff.

<sup>50</sup> The evolution of the word στοιχείον has been the subject of some controversy. In addition to the older studies by H. Diels and O. Lagercrantz, see esp. A. Delatte and Ch. Josserand, “Contribution à l’étude de la démonologie byzantine,” *Mélanges Bidez* (= *Ann. de l’Inst. de phil. et d’hist. orient.*, II [1934]), p. 208ff.; C. Blum, “The Meaning of στοιχείον and its Derivatives in the Byzantine Age,” *Eranos*, XLIV (1946), p. 315ff. On the modern Greek στοιχείο, see esp. Polites, *Παραδόσεις* (as in note 43 *supra*), I, p. 250ff.; II, p. 1051ff.

<sup>51</sup> Leo Grammaticus, p. 257; Pseudo-Symeon, p. 691f.

<sup>52</sup> *Script. orig. CP*, II, p. 176; Nicetas Choniates, pp. 849, 857f. The identification of this statue raises some difficulties: cf. my remarks in *Art Bulletin*, XLI (1959), p. 355, note 31.

<sup>53</sup> *Script. orig. CP*, I, p. 21, § 5 = II, p. 196, § 87.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. G. Millet, “Les monastères et les églises de Trébizonde,” *Bull. de corr. hell.*, XIX (1895), p. 434; K. N. Papamichalopoulos, *Περιήγησις εἰς τὸν Πόντον* (Athens, 1903), p. 201.

reliefs conspicuously displayed on its north and south façades.<sup>55</sup> A more familiar example is provided by the relief of Hercules with the Erymanthian boar that decorates the west façade of San Marco; but it is difficult to say whether it was used as an allegory of Salvation,<sup>56</sup> or with an apotropaic intention.<sup>57</sup> However, there can be no doubt about the christianization of the sepulchral monument of the Barbii, fragments of which frame the entrance door to the cathedral of S. Giusto at Trieste; since one of the funerary busts has actually been provided with a halo.<sup>58</sup> What reason, other than convenience, dictated the ample re-use of classical carving in the church of Panagia Gorgoepekoos (Little Metropolis) at Athens,<sup>59</sup> I am unable to say; whether the old stones were regarded as being στοιχειωμένα or not, they were placed with no regard for their subject-matter except in such a manner as to form a symmetrical pattern (fig. 3).

#### IV

Next we should consider the attitude of the Byzantine intellectuals. Their statements on the topic of ancient statuary, unlike those of the common man, cannot be taken at face value; they can be evaluated only in the perspective of a long rhetorical tradition stretching back to antiquity. The ancients, we may remember, had not evolved anything that we would regard as a sophisticated form of artistic criticism. Their chief and practically only criterion of excellence was verisimilitude. The famous anecdotes concerning Myron's bronze cow which a live calf came to suck, the horse of Apelles at the sight of which live horses neighed, the grapes of Zeuxis that were pecked by live birds sufficiently illustrate this criterion. It is stated in the first sentence of the Elder Philostratus' *Imagines*: "Whosoever scorns painting is unjust to truth." As part of verisimilitude the ancients prized the ability to represent feelings or emotions (ἡθῆ), which was considered to have been an invention of the Hellenistic age.<sup>60</sup> Even when Philostratus (the other Philostratus who wrote the *Life of Apollonius*) speaks of the importance of imagination (*phantasia*), which is wiser than *mimesis*, he means no more than the ability to visualize exactly somebody or something that one has not seen, as in the case of the gods.<sup>61</sup> Typical of this attitude is the well-known epigram concerning the Cnidian Aphrodite: Aphrodite came to Cnidus to see her own statue, and having examined it, she exclaimed: "Where did Praxiteles see me naked?"<sup>62</sup> He had not: he had *phantasia*.

<sup>55</sup> A. Struck, "Vier byzant. Kirchen der Argolis," *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXIV (1909), p. 208, fig. 129. Cf. Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, I, p. 73; II, p. 755.

<sup>56</sup> So E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, "Classical Mythology in Mediaeval Art," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, IV/2 (1933), p. 228.

<sup>57</sup> So O. Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice* (Washington, D. C., 1960), p. 134f.

<sup>58</sup> G. Caprin, *Trieste*, Italia artistica, No. 22 (Bergamo, 1923), fig. on p. 25.

<sup>59</sup> K. Michel and A. Struck, "Die mittelbyzantinischen Kirchen Athens," *Athen. Mitteilungen*, XXXI (1906), p. 281ff.; P. Steiner, "Antike Skulpturen an der Panagia Gorgoepekoos," *ibid.*, p. 325ff.

<sup>60</sup> This "invention" was ascribed to Aristides of Thebes, a contemporary of Apelles: Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, XXXV, 98.

<sup>61</sup> *Vita Apollonii*, VI, 19.

<sup>62</sup> *Anthol. Palat.*, XVI, 160, 162.

Countless students of rhetoric, laboring over their *ekphraseis*, reduced these artistic ideals to stale clichés. And when the *ekphrasis* came to be used to describe Christian subjects, its literary conventions, including the insistence on realism and the required comparison (*synkrisis*) with the famous artists of the past, were simply maintained. It is interesting to read the description of a painting representing the martyrdom of St. Euphemia by St. Asterius of Amaseia (ca. A.D. 400).<sup>63</sup> The picture was so good, "that you would think it was the work of Euphranor, or another one of the ancients who raised painting to such a high level, and made pictures that were almost animated." What Asterius admires in the scenes of martyrdom is their realism: the judge is certainly angry, "since art, when it so wishes, can indeed express anger even with inanimate matter"; the drops of blood seemed in truth to be trickling down from the martyr's mouth. Asterius adds that he used to admire, for its expression of conflicting emotions, a painting of Medea about to slaughter her children—he refers to the famous painting by Timomachus of Byzantium,<sup>64</sup> a replica of which, from Herculaneum, is at the Museo Nazionale of Naples. But now he has transferred his admiration to this painting of St. Euphemia, the author of which "has instilled feeling (ἡθος) into his colors, having mingled modesty with courage, two passions that are naturally contradictory."

This kind of appreciation was perhaps still appropriate to the relatively naturalistic art of the fourth century. It was, moreover, a standard ingredient of the *ekphrasis* genre, and as such, after passing through the hands of such practitioners as Libanius, Choricus, John of Gaza, etc., it was taken over by the Byzantines.

Now, the significant and, to us, astounding thing is that the Byzantines applied the same standard of criticism not only to ancient art, for which it had been invented, but also to their own art, *without any distinction*. Our own appreciation of Byzantine art stems largely from the fact that this art is not naturalistic; yet the Byzantines themselves, judging by their extant statements, regarded it as being highly naturalistic and as being directly in the tradition of Phidias, Apelles, and Zeuxis. When the Patriarch Photius described a mosaic of the Virgin in St. Sophia, he praised it as a "lifelike imitation" (ἡ ζωγράφος τέχνη οὕτως ἀκριβῶς εἰς φύσιν τὴν μίμησιν ἔστησε). The Virgin's lips "have been made flesh by the colors" and though still, they were not "incapable of speaking."<sup>65</sup> The same Patriarch, in describing a church pavement inlaid to represent various animals, says that it surpassed the art of Phidias, Parrhasius, Praxiteles, and Zeuxis who "are proved indeed to have been mere children in their art and makers of figments."<sup>66</sup> A certain painter Andrew, who flourished in the tenth century, is said to have been the equal of

<sup>63</sup> PG, 40, col. 333ff.

<sup>64</sup> Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, No. 2122ff. Asterius merely repeats the standard appreciation of the Medea: cf. *ibid.*, Nos. 2128, 2129.

<sup>65</sup> Φωτίου ὁμιλίαι, ed. B. Laourdas, Ἑλληνικά, Suppl. 12 (Thessaloniki, 1959), p. 167<sub>13</sub>; *The Homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople*, trans. by C. Mango (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), p. 290.

<sup>66</sup> Ed. Laourdas, p. 102; Bonn ed. (along with Georgius Codinus), p. 198; Mango trans., p. 187. Cf. Nicephorus Gregoras, Bonn ed., II, p. 749: the carving in St. Sophia surpassed that of Phidias.

Apelles, Agatharchus of Samos, Heracleides, and Philoinos (Philinos?) of Byzantium<sup>67</sup>—this list of names is, of course, merely a display of learning and the last two appear to be unknown even to modern scholarship. The Emperor Leo VI, commenting on a mosaic of Christ in the dome of a church, says that it appeared to be not a work of art, but Christ himself, who had momentarily stilled his lips.<sup>68</sup> An image of the Virgin in the same church appeared to be opening her lips and speaking to her Child, so much it gave the illusion of “not being devoid of breath” (οὕτως ὥσπερ οὐκ ἄμοιρα πνοῆς ὑπάρχει τὰ εἰκονίσματα).<sup>69</sup> Countless epigrams on Byzantine icons labored the same point: the image was always so lifelike that it appeared to be on the point of speaking.<sup>70</sup> Consider another example: in his obscure polemic with Theodore Metochites, Nicephorus Chumnos argues that in literary composition one ought to take as models the best authors of antiquity, just as the artist is guided by the works of Lysippus and Apelles.<sup>71</sup> It would be naive to conclude from this that in the early fourteenth century Byzantine artists really had before them any of the antique masterpieces to which Chumnos alludes. Our learned author is merely using a literary *topos*.

To illustrate this fossilization of artistic criticism in the face of completely different artistic phenomena, I can do no better than to confront two epigrams, one ancient, the other Byzantine. The first, which is very short, concerns the Zeus of Olympia: “Either the god came down to earth from heaven to show his form to thee, O Phidias; or else it was thou who didst ascend to see the god.”<sup>72</sup> The second epigram is by the fourteenth-century Byzantine author Nicephorus Callistus and it concerns the mosaic of Christ by the twelfth-century painter Eulalios in the church of the Holy Apostles: “Either Christ himself came down from heaven and showed the exact form of his features to him who had such expressive hands (τῷ τὰς χεῖρας ἔχοντι μᾶλλον εὐλάλους: a pun), or else the famous Eulalios ascended into the sky itself and with his

<sup>67</sup> Theoph. Cont., p. 382.

<sup>68</sup> Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ πανυγηρικοὶ (sic) λόγοι, ed. Akakios (Athens, 1868), p. 245.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 246. Cf. p. 277 concerning an image of the Annunciation: εἰποῖς ἂν καὶ λογικῆς μὴ ἄμοιρῇν τὰ εἰκονίσματα διαλέξῃς, οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν προσώπων φυσικὸν αὐτοῖς ὁ τεχνίτης χρῶμα καὶ ἦθος ἀνέθηκεν.

<sup>70</sup> See, e.g., John Mavropous, *Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in cod. Vat. gr. 676 supersunt*, ed. Bollig and de Lagarde (Göttingen, 1882), p. 9, No. 14 (icon of St. John Chrysostom); No. 16 (icon of St. Basil): ἄλλ' εἰ λαλήσει (ἤν δοκεῖ γὰρ καὶ τύπος); p. 10, No. 17 (icon of Three Hierarchs): γραφέντες ἤν δοκοῦσι καὶ λέγειν. *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*, ed. Kurtz (Leipzig, 1903), p. 63, No. 101 (icon of prophet Elijah): ἰδοὺ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐνθάδε ἴδων, ὡς βλέπεις; p. 75, No. 112 (icon of St. Michael being painted by the painter Myron): ἐμπνουν ἀναστήλωσον αὐτόν, εἰ δύνῃ. Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, ed. Miller, I (Paris, 1855), p. 3, No. III (Gabriel in the Annunciation): τί δὴ σιωπᾶς; τάχα γὰρ ἴδων ἐγράφη; p. 6, No. XII (Raising of Lazarus): ἅπαντα συνθεῖς εὐφύως ὁ ζωγράφος | μόνην παρῆκε τὴν βοήν τοῦ δεσπότου; p. 21, No. XXXVII (icon of St. Mark): οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἄπνους τύπος, | ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ ἴδων καὶ κινεῖται καὶ πνέει; p. 33, No. LXIX (icon of St. John Chrysostom): γραφεῖς πάλιν ἱῆς· τοῦτο τῆς εὐτεχνίας; p. 34, No. LXXVI (carving of St. George): ἐμπνους ὁ μάρτυς καὶ δοκῶν ἤν ἐκ λίθου, etc.

<sup>71</sup> Boissonade, *Anecdota graeca*, III (Paris, 1831), p. 357: ἔστι γὰρ πάντως καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐκείνων [the ancient authors] ἡμᾶς ὁρᾶν σπουδάσματα . . . τρόπον γε τὸν ἴσον ὥσπερ οἱ τὰς εἰκόνας καὶ τὰς μορφὰς γράφοντες πρὸς πίνακας καὶ τύπους τοὺς πάλαι Λυσίππου τινὸς καὶ Ἀπελλοῦ, καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος κατ' ἐκείνους ἰώσας εἰκόνας, καὶ πνοῆς μόνης καὶ κινήσεως ἀπολειπομένας, ἦν μορφῶν καὶ γράφων. This passage is analyzed by I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Brussels, 1962), p. 22.

<sup>72</sup> *Anthol. Palat.*, XVI, 81.

skilled hand accurately delineated the appearance of Christ.”<sup>73</sup> The only difference lies in the prolixity of the Byzantine epigram.

Aesthetically, then, there appeared, to the Byzantines, to be no difference whatever between ancient and their own art; the only difference was one of subject matter. This distinction was important since an image was believed to contain somehow the *eidos* of its archetype. Of the skill of the ancients there could be no question; the pity of it was that they wasted it on such worthless subjects.

It is interesting that between the reign of Justinian and the middle of the twelfth century there does not appear to be a single *ekphrasis* devoted to a work of ancient art.<sup>74</sup> The only pertinent text that is known to me is contained in the “Description of the Statues and Tall Columns of Constantinople” by Constantine Rhodius, who wrote under Constantine VII,<sup>75</sup> i.e. at the very height of what modern scholars like to call the “Macedonian Renaissance.” The poet describes at some length the Seven Wonders of Constantinople, but these wonders are not the works of ancient statuary. They are instead the equestrian statue of Justinian, Constantine’s porphyry column, the Senate House also built by Constantine, a column bearing a cross, a weather vane of the time of Theodosius I, and the columns of Theodosius and Arcadius. It is in describing the Senate House that the poet dwells on two ancient works: a bronze door representing a Gigantomachy in relief that had originally belonged to the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, and the thirty-foot-high bronze statue of Athena which we have already mentioned and which Constantine Rhodius believed to have come from Lindos. Yet the poet’s remarks about these works of art are far from laudatory. He does admit that the reliefs on the door were lifelike: the fire that darted from the Giants’ eyes caused the spectators to tremble. But he goes on to add: “It was with such errors that the foolish race of Hellas was deceived as it accorded an evil worship to the abomination of vain impiety. But the mighty and wise Constantine brought it here to be a plaything for the city, a jest to children and a source of laughter to men.” This echoes the passage of Eusebius that we have quoted above. As for the bronze Athena, it was a monument of “Lindian error.” “For thus it was that the madmen of olden times made in vain the idol of Pallas.”<sup>76</sup> We are reminded of similar remarks that Constantine’s contemporary, Bishop Arethas of Caesarea, penned in the margins of his copy of Lucian.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>73</sup> A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, “Νικηφόρος Κάλλιστος Ζανθόπουλος,” *BZ*, XI (1902), p. 46, No. 14; cf. N. Bees, “Kunstgeschichtliche Untersuchungen über die Eulalios-Frage,” *Rep. für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXXIX (1916), p. 101.

<sup>74</sup> Note, however, a mutilated epigram by Christophoros Mitylenaios (first half of the eleventh century) on a statue of Hercules in the suburban palace of Aretae: ed. Kurtz, p. 99, No. 143. As usual, the statue is pronounced to be lifelike (... χερσὶ ἢ τεχνίτου | τοῦ παντελῶς ἐμψυχον Ἡρακλῆν ξέσαι). On the palace of Aretae, see R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, 1950), pp. 137, 406, who fails to quote this text.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. G. Downey, “Constantine the Rhodian: His Life and Writings,” *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend. Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), p. 212 ff.

<sup>76</sup> E. Legrand, “Description des oeuvres d’art et de l’église des Saints Apôtres de Constantinople,” *Rev. des ét. grecques*, IX (1896), p. 40 f.

<sup>77</sup> *Scholia in Lucianum*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig, 1906), pp. 76, 78 ff., 218 ff.

In the middle of the twelfth century, Constantine Manasses, who died as a bishop, wrote an *ekphrasis*, unfortunately mutilated, which describes an antique relief of the story of Odysseus and Polyphemus. He starts by saying that this relief attracted his attention while he was visiting a friend, a nobleman addicted to the study of letters. It was made of reddish stone, and may have looked something like the fragment of an oval sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale of Naples (fig. 4)<sup>78</sup> Manasses describes the scene: Odysseus offering a wineskin to the Cyclops, a hairy monster of savage appearance with an inflated belly; the companions of Odysseus lying slaughtered on the ground. Manasses dwells on the realism of the relief and compliments the artist for having used red stone to represent such a bloody scene.<sup>79</sup> There is nothing in this description that could not have been written a thousand years earlier; and if the author's name had not been preserved in the manuscript, scholars might well have attributed it to late antiquity.

It was not long thereafter that the antique statues of Constantinople met their doom. I have referred already to the destruction of the bronze Athena at the hands of a Byzantine mob in 1203. Once the city had fallen, most of the bronze statues were sent to the melting pot. Some were removed to the West: the four horses on the façade of San Marco and the colossus of Barletta survive as the only reminders of this spoliation. The historian Nicetas Choniates wrote a dirge on the statues that were then destroyed. He describes eighteen of them<sup>80</sup>—surely only a small fraction of the total: the colossal Hera, whose head alone required four pairs of oxen to drag it away, the Hercules of Lysippus, a Paris giving the apple to Aphrodite, a Bellerophon astride the Pegasus, and so forth. Nicetas' lamentations form a curious, a deeply mediaeval document. The continuum linking him with antiquity is not broken: Nicetas displays a wealth of mythological allusions, quotes freely from Homer. A statue of Helen, her body humid even in bronze, her lips parted as if about to speak, moves him to his most rhapsodic flourishes. Her charms did not avail against the insensitive barbarians; it was in revenge of the burning of Troy that the descendents of Aeneas, i.e. the Venetians, delivered her to the flames.<sup>81</sup> Although permeated with antique reminiscences, Nicetas' response to the statues is not antiquarian; it is rather allegorical, in places superstitious. With many of his Byzantine predecessors, he believes that a group representing an eagle killing a serpent had been set up with magical rites by Apollonius of Tyana to frighten snakes away from Constantinople; while another group representing an ox struggling with a crocodile suggests the desperate struggle between nations, in this case the Byzantines and the Latins.<sup>82</sup>

A violent jolt was needed to produce a different attitude towards pagan antiquity; to make it appear as a distinct epoch, one whose greatness shone

<sup>78</sup> C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, II (Berlin, 1890), p. 159f., No. 148 and pl. LIII.

<sup>79</sup> L. Sternbach, "Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte," *Jahreshefte d. Österr. Archäol. Inst.*, V (1902), Beiblatt, col. 83ff.

<sup>80</sup> P. 856ff. Cf. Edwin Pears, *The Fall of Constantinople, being the Story of the Fourth Crusade* (London 1885), p. 354f.

<sup>81</sup> Nicetas Choniates, p. 863f.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 861f., 866ff.

even through its ruins. This interposition of "distance" or of a "projection plane," as Panofsky calls it,<sup>83</sup> is indeed what separates the Renaissance in its attitude towards antiquity from the Middle Ages. In Byzantium such an interposition was never achieved, although there are some signs that it could have been. It was precisely in the thirteenth century that the Byzantines of Nicaea began calling themselves Hellenes in the national sense.<sup>84</sup> There exists one document of this period which, although it is not directly pertinent to the topic of statuary, is nevertheless so illuminating that it deserves quoting. It is a letter of the Emperor Theodore II Lascaris and describes a visit that he paid to the ruins of Pergamon.

"The city," he says, "is full of theatres, grown old and decrepit with age, showing as through a glass their former splendor and the nobility of those who built them. For these things are full of Hellenic elevation of thought (μεγαλονοίας) and constitute the image of that wisdom. Such things does the city show unto us, the descendents, reproaching us with the greatness of ancestral glory. Awesome are these compared to the buildings of today ...." He goes on to speak of the bridge spanning the river, the arches of which would have excited the admiration of Phidias. On either side of the big theatre stood round towers, "not the work of a modern hand, nor the invention of a modern mind, for their very sight fills one with astonishment." Among the ancient ruins were the hovels of the inhabitants which, by comparison, looked like mouse holes (μῶν τρῶγλαι). "The works of the dead," he concludes, "are more beautiful than those of the living."<sup>85</sup>

One is reminded of Petrarch's similar experience when he visited Rome a hundred years later. But there is a difference: the significance of Theodore's attitude is that he contrasts the wretchedness of his age, not with the good old days of Justinian, but with the time of the Hellenes; he does not, however, condemn the intervening period. Petrarch took one further step, and a decisive one: he was the first to look upon the millennium separating himself from the decline of the Roman Empire as the Dark Ages.<sup>86</sup>

Interest in the material remains of antiquity was not, perhaps, entirely abandoned when the Greek Empire returned to Constantinople. In a romance of the early fourteenth century, a mythical king is represented visiting, for recreation, "the buildings of the Hellenes" (κτίσματα τῶν ἐλλήνων).<sup>87</sup> The

<sup>83</sup> *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (Stockholm, 1960), p. 108.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. N. G. Polites, "Ἕλληνες ἢ Ῥωμαῖοι; in Λαογραφικά σύμμεικτα, I (Athens, 1920), p. 126; M. A. Andreeva, *Očerki po kul'ture vizantijskago dvora v XIII veke* (Prague, 1927), p. 146; K. Lechner, *Hellenen und Barbaren* (diss. Munich, 1954), p. 64ff.

<sup>85</sup> *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae CCXVII*, ed. N. Festa (Florence, 1898), p. 107f. Cf. S. Antoniadis, "Sur une lettre de Théodore II Lascaris," *L'hellénisme contemporain*, VIII (1954), p. 356ff.

<sup>86</sup> See T. E. Mommsen, "Petrarch's Conception of the 'Dark Ages'," *Speculum*, XVII (1942), p. 226ff.

<sup>87</sup> *Le roman de Callimaque et de Chrysorrhoe*, ed. M. Pichard (Paris, 1956), p. 31, v. 857. Byzantine romances of chivalry, all of which appear to fall between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, show a marked interest in mythological representations. *Callimachus and Chrysorrhoe*, v. 419ff. describes an astral ceiling containing pictures of Cronos, Zeus in the guise of a "great emperor," Ares caressing Aphrodite, Athena seated on a throne, and the Graces. Carvings of love scenes with erotes decorated the Castle of Love in *Belthandros and Chrysantza*, v. 339ff. (ed. E. Kriaras, Βυζαντινά ἱπποτικά μυθιστορήματα [Athens, 1955], p. 107f.). The Palace of Love in *Libistros and Rhodamne* contained an eros in green marble; the birth of Eros; the Judgment of Paris, and figures of erotes in stucco. The Silver



tireless poetaster Manuel Philes wrote an epigram on a representation of Kairos,<sup>88</sup> and another on a "painting by Apelles" which was said to represent Alexander's table.<sup>89</sup> Actually, there were very few antique remains in Constantinople at this time. A catalogue of surviving statuary, which seems to be fairly complete, is given in the early fifteenth century by Manuel Chrysoloras in a letter in which he compares the Old and the New Rome. This letter was written from the Old Rome, and Chrysoloras, who spent many years in Western Europe, had absorbed much of contemporary humanism. He looks at his country from the outside, and his remarks are therefore of particular interest. That there used to be many statues in Constantinople, he says, is shown by the remaining pedestals and the inscriptions upon them. Most of these were in the Hippodrome. Some statues he had seen himself which later disappeared. Of surviving antique statuary only two specimens are quoted: one, a reclining figure of marble, the other a set of reliefs at the Golden Gate, representing the Labors of Hercules and the Punishment of Prometheus. Why were there no more statues? Because Constantinople was built at a time when such things were neglected on account of religion, and men avoided the representation of idols. How indeed were they to make them, when in Rome, where statues existed from an earlier period, they were being at that very time destroyed? Statuary started in Greece and reached a wonderful development in Italy. The Byzantines, for their part, cultivated other arts, such as painting and mosaic.<sup>90</sup>

To round off this sketchy survey of the attitude of Byzantine intellectuals, I should add that I know of no Byzantine collector of antiquities after the fifth century A.D. It has been stated that Theodore Metochites, the prime minister of Andronicus II, had such a collection in his palace, but this assertion is based on a misunderstood text.<sup>91</sup> Contrast this with the West, where in the middle of the twelfth century a bishop of Winchester purchased pagan statues in Rome and despatched them home,<sup>92</sup> not to mention the collection of classical sculpture made by Frederick II.<sup>93</sup>

Castle in the same poem had statues of the twelve virtues, the twelve months, and the twelve forms of love: *Le roman de Libistros et Rhodamné*, ed. J. A. Lambert (née Van der Kolf) (Amsterdam, 1935), p. 70, v. 261ff.; p. 110, v. 938ff.; p. 116, v. 1017; p. 122, v. 1108ff. It has been assumed that these descriptions reflect the decoration of actual Byzantine palaces: so, e.g. Bury, *Romances of Chivalry on Greek Soil* (Oxford, 1911), p. 15; Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, IV (Athens, 1951), p. 303; but the problem ought to be re-examined with reference to western romances. The present state of research on these poems is summarized by M. I. Manoussacas, "Les romans byzantins de chevalerie," *Rev. des ét. byz.*, X (1953), p. 70ff.

<sup>88</sup> Ed. Miller, I, p. 32, No. LXVII. Cf. A. Muñoz, *Studi d'arte medioevale* (Rome, 1909), p. 8f.

<sup>89</sup> Ed. Miller, II, p. 267f. This was actually a mosaic of the *asarotos* type which decorated a bedroom in the Great Palace: a fuller description of it is given by Constantine Manasses, ed. Sternbach (as in note 79 *supra*), col. 74ff.

<sup>90</sup> PG, 156, col. 45ff.; German trans. by F. Grabler in *Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber*, II (1954), p. 132ff.

<sup>91</sup> R. Guiland, "Le palais de Théodore Métrochite," *Rev. des ét. grecques*, XXXV (1922), pp. 85f., 93. The word παλαιά (in v. 214 of Metochites' poem), which Guiland translates as "antiquités," refers in reality to *old houses* which Metochites had purchased: I owe this correction to Prof. Ihor Ševčenko.

<sup>92</sup> See J. B. Ross, "A Study of Twelfth-Century Interest in the Antiquities of Rome" in *Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honor of J. W. Thompson* (Chicago, 1938), p. 308f.

<sup>93</sup> See E. Kantorowicz, *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1928), p. 482f.; *Ergänzungsband* (Berlin, 1931), p. 210.

## V

The last question I should like to ask is whether the classical statuary collected in Constantinople or surviving in other towns exerted any influence on Byzantine art. It is important to state this question in a precise manner. No one doubts that the amalgam which is usually termed Early Christian or Early Byzantine art had Graeco-Roman art as its chief ingredient. It is equally undeniable that Byzantine art proper went through certain periods, in particular those that are often called the Macedonian and Palaeologan Renaissances, when a classicizing style and classicizing motifs, such as personifications, were more in evidence than during other periods. The specific question we are asking is whether Byzantine artists, especially during those times of revival, sought their inspiration *directly* from antique statues and reliefs or whether the antique influence reached them through other, more indirect and contaminated channels.

A hundred years ago, Jules Labarte based his entire theory of the evolution of Byzantine art on the existence of antique statues. Ever since the foundation of Constantinople, he says, eastern artists had before them, as an unfailing guide, the masterpieces of ancient sculpture. The artistic revival under Justinian resulted from their study. The new school that arose after Iconoclasm attempted likewise to imitate the models of ancient art that still abounded in Constantinople. In the eleventh century decadence set in, but the presence of ancient masterpieces did not allow Byzantine artists to stray altogether from the right path. But then came the Latin occupation and the destruction of ancient statues. When the Greeks returned to Constantinople, they found themselves deprived of antique models. Is it surprising therefore that, from this time on, Byzantine art went from bad to worse?<sup>94</sup> Today no-one holds such extreme views. Yet the supposition—so natural to us today—that on occasion a Byzantine artist would copy a statue here or there, has not been entirely abandoned.<sup>95</sup> Can such a supposition be substantiated?

It is naturally in the realm of the plastic arts that one would begin to look for the possible influence of ancient statuary. But it is a matter of common knowledge that the Byzantines, as a rule, did not cultivate sculpture in the round or even high relief in stone.<sup>96</sup> If then ancient statues were not imitated

<sup>94</sup> *Histoire des arts industriels au moyen âge et à l'époque de la Renaissance*, I (Paris, 1864), pp. 31, 52, 96; III (1865), pp. 14, 33f.

<sup>95</sup> Thus, J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1923), p. 130, says that Byzantine artists "pouvaient puiser à pleines mains dans les chefs-d'œuvre de l'art antique." J. Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople* (London, 1961), p. 7, speaks more cautiously of the antique statues "at more than one time providing a source of form from which sprang the streams of perennial hellenism to feed the Byzantine style."

<sup>96</sup> Sculpture in the round, after the sixth century, was used only for statues of emperors and occasionally members of the imperial family, but even that is confined to a few periods. The tradition continued down to the reign of Philippicus (711-13). Then, naturally enough, there was a break corresponding to the Iconoclastic period. At the very end of the eighth century statues were set up of Constantine VI and his mother, the Empress Irene. For several centuries thereafter no statues appear to have been made; our next example is of Andronicus I (1183-85), which was apparently planned but never set up. Eighty years later a group of sculpture commemorating the deliverance of Constantinople from the Latins was set up by Michael VIII. Cf. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires*, p. 131. This

by Byzantine artists in the same medium, we must extend our search to painting and the minor arts. Here we can make at once a preliminary observation. We are all familiar with late-mediaeval western representations of mythological subjects in which the Olympian gods and goddesses, the heroes of the Trojan war, etc., appear in the guise of Gothic knights and ladies. This phenomenon is not, on the whole, observable in Byzantium. There are, it is true, a few examples of ancient subjects in Byzantine garb, but they are widely scattered in time and do not appear to be characteristic of any given period: we may quote for the ninth century the Gregory manuscript in Milan, *Ambros. E.* 49–50 (fig. 5),<sup>97</sup> for the eleventh the Gregory in Jerusalem, *Taphou 14* (fig. 6),<sup>98</sup> and another in the Panteleimon monastery of Mount Athos, *cod.* 6,<sup>99</sup> for the fifteenth the gross sketches in the margin of the famous codex A of the Iliad, *Marc. gr.* 454 (fig. 7).<sup>100</sup> Generally, however, when a Byzantine artist was called upon to depict a mythological subject, which happened rather seldom, or a pagan statue, which happened more often, especially in illustrations appended to the lives of saints, he was able to give such representations a more or less authentic look. The “antiquité romanesque” of the West was predicated upon an estrangement from antiquity such as happened, for example, in France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,<sup>101</sup> but which did not happen in Byzantium.

Once this has been said, however, it should also be admitted that Byzantine art does not exhibit a single instance of such intimate contact with specific antique models as we find, though transposed in subject matter, in the portal of Reims cathedral or in the work of Nicolo Pisano. Modern scholars have nevertheless suggested that some Byzantine representations were modelled after ancient statues. Thus, Ainalov asserted that the personification of the city of Gibeon in the Joshua Roll (fig. 8) reproduced the Tyche of Antioch by the Hellenistic sculptor Eutychides, one replica of which exists in the Vatican (fig. 9).<sup>102</sup> On inspection, the resemblance turns out to be rather slight; Ainalov could have found closer parallels. But now Prof. Weitzmann tells us that the city of Gibeon does not reproduce a Tyche type at all, but was adapted from the type of Io watched by Argus.<sup>103</sup>

curve is quite suggestive: it is particularly interesting that no statues whatever were made during the so-called Macedonian Renaissance. As for the revival of sculpture in the twelfth century, we may also quote a text by Theodore Balsamon: commenting on canon 100 of the Quinisext Council, which forbade the representation of erotic subjects, he notes that in the houses of the rich there were not only pictures of this kind, but even human figures carved out of stucco: *Rhalles and Potles, Σύνταγμα τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἑρῶν κανόνων*, II (Athens, 1852), p. 546.

<sup>97</sup> A. Grabar, *Les miniatures du Grégoire de Nazianze de l'Ambrosienne* (Paris, 1943), pls. LXX, 1–2, LXXI, 2, LXXII, 1.

<sup>98</sup> K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1951), figs. 2, 17, 20, 29, 33, 52, 59, 70, 74, 76–78, 89, 92.

<sup>99</sup> Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, II (Paris, 1926), p. 628 and figs. 304, 305; Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, figs. 22, 38, 39, 58, 68, 87.

<sup>100</sup> D. Comparetti, *Homeri Ilias cum scholiis. Cod. Venet. A, Marc. 454*, *Codices graeci et latini*, VI (Leiden, 1901), fols. 1r–v, 4r–v, 6r–v, 8v, 9r–v.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. J. Adhémar, *Influences antiques dans l'art du moyen âge français* (London, 1939), p. 292 ff.

<sup>102</sup> *The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Art*, trans. by E. and S. Sobolevitch (New Brunswick, N. J., 1961), p. 134.

<sup>103</sup> *The Joshua Roll* (Princeton, 1948), p. 65.

Much has been made of the seated Hercules on an ivory casket at Xanten (fig. 10).<sup>104</sup> The pose of the hero, who is resting on a basket after having cleaned the Augean stables, corresponds exactly to that of the Lysippan colossus which, as we have seen, was in the Hippodrome of Constantinople until 1204. It cannot be denied that the ultimate model of the ivory was the statue of Lysippus, of which, unfortunately, no ancient replica has survived; yet it is equally clear that the carving was not copied directly from the statue. It is difficult to imagine that in the original, Hercules would have been represented beardless;<sup>105</sup> besides, the summary style of the carving suggests that it was copied from a small model, possibly a manuscript.<sup>106</sup> Similar observations could be made on other Byzantine representations that have been quoted in this connection, such as the group of Oedipus and the Sphinx on a glass bowl in the Treasury of San Marco (where the Sphinx has been turned into an angel and Oedipus made to sit on a throne);<sup>107</sup> the Olympian gods on a ninth- or tenth-century inkwell in the cathedral treasury of Padua;<sup>108</sup> or the nude figure of Life which the exemplary monk renounces in a manuscript of St. John Climacus, *Vatic. gr. 394* (fig. 11).<sup>109</sup> Each time we find a Byzantine representation of a classical subject, it appears, upon inspection, to be separated from its ultimate classical model by a long chain of transmission, usually in the minor arts.<sup>110</sup>

Since space does not allow me to substantiate this conclusion with the help of several other examples, I shall confine myself to one monument, the famous Menologium of Basil II in the Vatican Library, *cod. gr. 1613*. Out of the 430 miniatures contained in this manuscript, twenty include classical figures, either statues or reliefs, of which six are required by the text and fourteen have no obvious *raison d'être*.<sup>111</sup> The Vatican Menologium is not necessarily an original, but the corpus of illustrations it contains could not have been compiled before the beginning of the tenth century.<sup>112</sup> This brings us, therefore, once more to the Macedonian Renaissance: if Byzantine artists ever copied ancient sculpture, then this is surely the time when they might have done it.

When we examine the twenty representations of ancient sculpture in the Menologium, we realize that, with a few exceptions, they are all variants of

<sup>104</sup> H. Graeven, "Mittelalterliche Nachbildungen des Lysippischen Herakleskolosses," *Bonner Jahrb.*, CVIII/CIX (1902), p. 258ff.; A. Furtwängler, *Der Herakles des Lysipp in Konstantinopel*, Sitzungsab. Bayr. Akad., Philos.-philol. Klasse (1902), p. 435ff.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. F. P. Johnson, *Lysippos* (Durham, N. C., 1927), p. 195.

<sup>106</sup> So Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology*, p. 161.

<sup>107</sup> *Id.*, "The Survival of Mythological Representations in Early Christian and Byzantine Art," *DOP*, 14 (1960), p. 50f.

<sup>108</sup> P. Toesca, "Cimeli bizantini," *L'Arte*, IX (1906), p. 35f. The inkwell was made for a certain calligrapher Leo; the attempt to identify him with the ninth-century scholar Leo the Philosopher does not appear to be convincing (B. Hemmerdinger, *Essai sur l'histoire du texte de Thucydide* [Paris, 1955], p. 39).

<sup>109</sup> A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II/2 (Cambridge, 1925), p. 867; J. R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* (Princeton, 1954), p. 50ff. and fig. 72.

<sup>110</sup> The small group of Byzantine reliefs with mythological subjects, such as the Hercules in the Byzantine Museum of Athens (A. Xyngopoulos, "Βυζαντινὸν ἀνάγλυφον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους," *Ἀρχαιολ. Ἐφημερίς* [1927-28], p. 1ff.) or the Pan in Berlin (K. Museen zu Berlin, O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche ... Bildwerke*, II [Berlin, 1911], p. 125, No. 2216), are so mediaeval in style that the nature of their immediate models can hardly be determined.

<sup>111</sup> See I. Ševčenko, "The Illuminators of the Menologium of Basil II," *DOP*, 16 (1962), p. 268.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 261f.

two basic types. The first, which is used to decorate sarcophagi or troughs, consists of a row of nude standing figures, some holding hands, others grasping spears.<sup>113</sup> They are skilfully rendered in grisaille, but there is no attempt at composition: the figures are simply strung together (figs. 12, 13, 14). A row of standing figures is, of course, a common type of sarcophagus decoration, but one would be hard put to indicate a specific classical model that the Byzantine miniaturists might have used here. The second type, used both for statues and to decorate sarcophagi, is a nude, standing figure holding a spear in one hand; the other hand may be free, but usually it holds an orb with a piece of drapery hanging below it (figs. 15, 16, 17).<sup>114</sup> The ultimate model may have been an imperial statue, perhaps even that of Constantine-Helios on the porphyry column. But the model has been misunderstood: the hanging bit of drapery under the orb is derived from a fully or partially draped figure; and when we turn to a manuscript of St. Gregory in Paris (*Coislin* 239), we find that some of the pagan gods depicted therein, e.g. Isis (fig. 18), do hold orbs over one end of the garment that is thrown over the left forearm.<sup>115</sup> The type used in the Vatican Menologium is therefore related to a type that was current in manuscript illumination.

Yet, the appearance of classical motifs in the Menologium is not due simply to servile copying. The miniatures were executed by eight painters. Now, if we take the fourteen instances of classical figures that are not required by the text, we discover that eight of them are the work of the same painter, Pantoleon by name, while the other painters account for only six. Obviously, then, Pantoleon had antiquarian interests. Let us compare two miniatures showing essentially the same composition: one, on p. 371, by Pantoleon, represents St. Isidore of Pelusium (fig. 19); the other, on p. 145, by the painter Symeon, represents St. John Chozebites (fig. 20). It would be rather farfetched to suggest that the picture of St. Isidore is accompanied by a statue because Isidore wrote some works, now lost, directed against the pagans. The inclusion of a classical motif into this and other miniatures is, in my opinion, equivalent to quotations from classical authors. We may push this analogy one step further: just as Byzantine writers usually derived their classical quotations not from complete texts of the classics but from some mediaeval Bartlett, so the painter Pantoleon took his "quotations" not directly from antique works of art, but from another mediaeval manuscript.

One may, I think, sum up the relation of the Byzantine renaissances to classical art in the same words that have been used to describe the Carolingian Renaissance: "... its artistic activities did not include major sculpture in stone; the models selected for imitation were as a rule productions of the minor arts and normally did not antedate the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.; and the classical values ... were salvaged but not 'reactivated.'"<sup>116</sup>

<sup>113</sup> *Il Menologio di Basilio II* (cod. Vat. gr. 1613), *Codices e Vaticanis selecti VIII*, II (Turin, 1907), pp. 3, 146, 154.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 46 (nude figures with spear and shield), 59, 83, 105, 125, 202, 283, 371, 391, 406.

<sup>115</sup> Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology*, fig. 88; cf. figs. 46, 72.

<sup>116</sup> Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences*, p. 106.

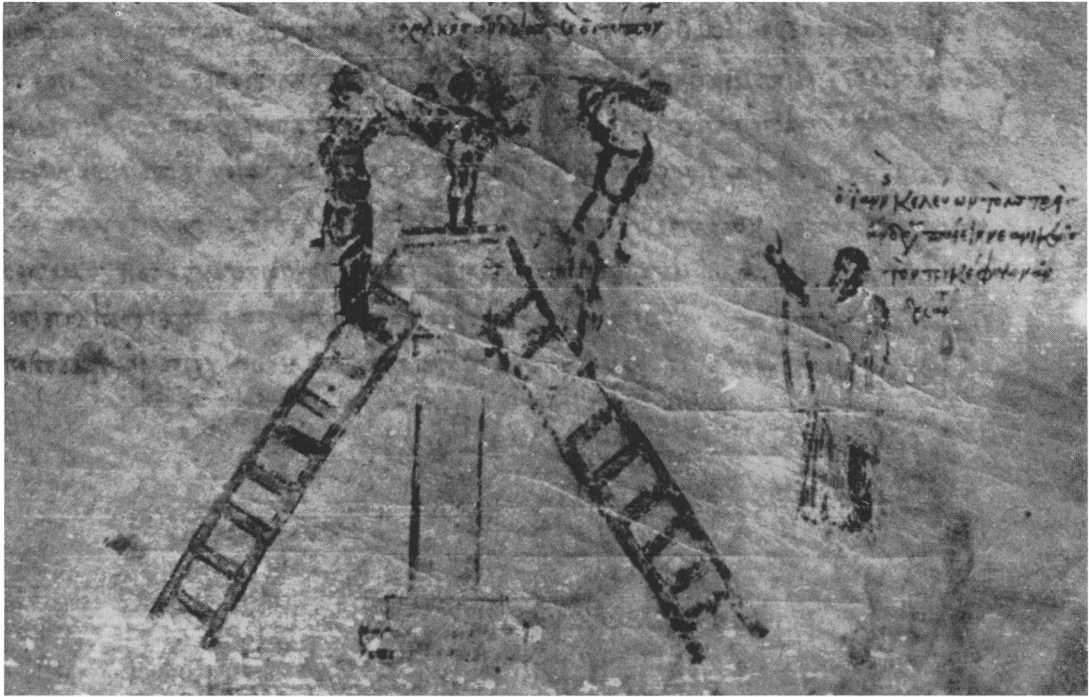
VI

When Constantinople fell to the Turks only two specimens of ancient sculpture appear to have been left in it. The first was a set of twelve reliefs at the Golden Gate representing the Labors of Hercules and other subjects—the same that had been mentioned by Chrysoloras. An unsuccessful attempt to acquire these reliefs was made by an English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe (1621–1628). They gradually fell to pieces and disappeared completely at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>117</sup> Some small fragments of them were excavated in 1927, the best being a head of Selene.<sup>118</sup> The other specimen was the famous Serpent Column in the Hippodrome, made by the victorious Greeks after the battle of Plataea. Its preservation in Turkish times was due to the fact that it was considered a talisman against snakes. Its heads were broken off in 1700, perhaps by members of the German embassy.<sup>119</sup> The mutilated trunk is thus the only survivor, still standing *in situ*, of one of the greatest collections of ancient sculpture ever assembled. Here ends our sad story—sad, because the Byzantines derived so little benefit from the statues that they took care to preserve. Byzantium fulfilled its historic role by transmitting to the more receptive West the Greek heritage on parchment and paper; it was unable to transmit in the same fashion and at the right time the heritage in bronze and marble.

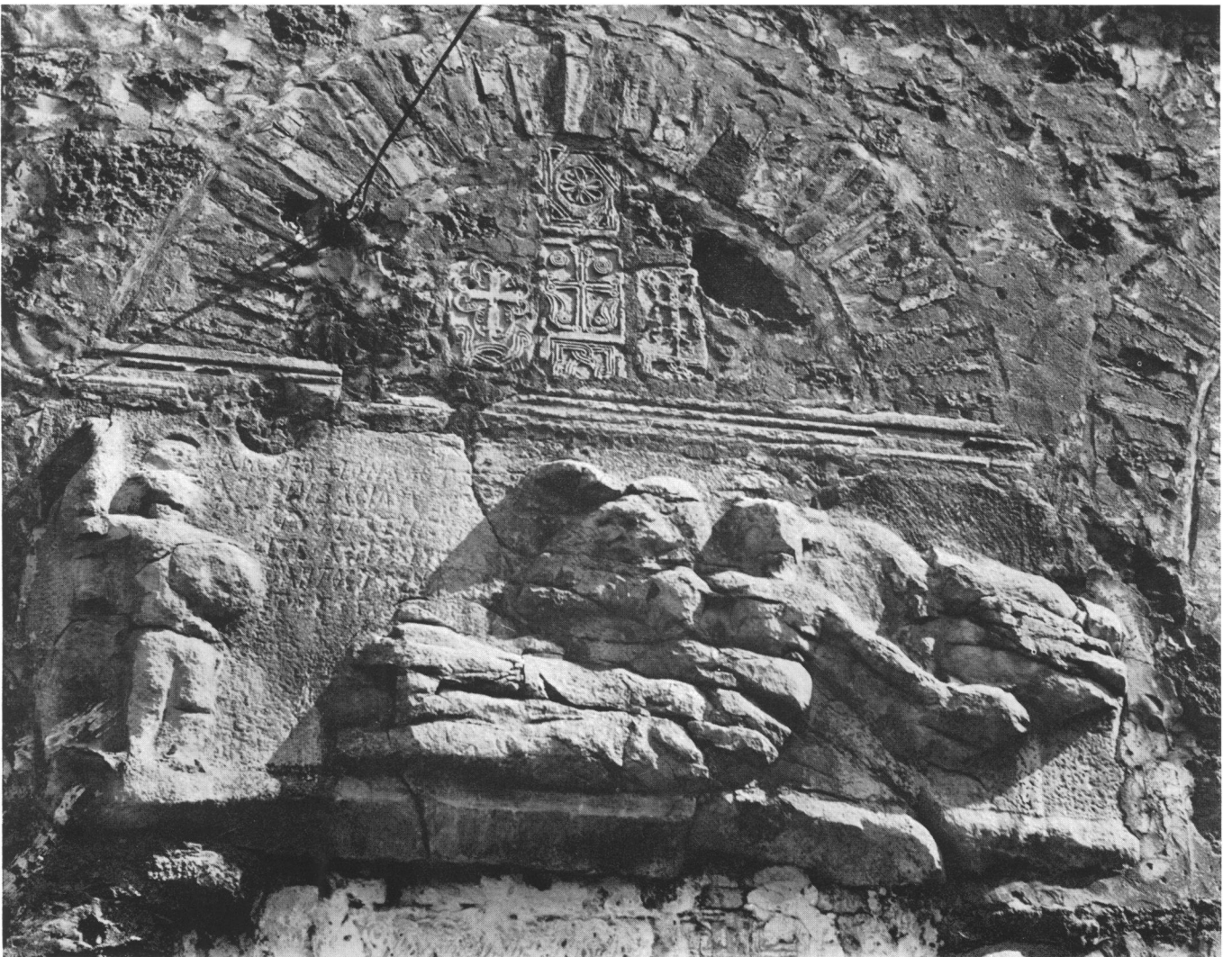
<sup>117</sup> J. Ebersolt, *Constantinople byzantine et les voyageurs du Levant* (Paris, 1918), pp. 82, 103, 132, 150, 156f., 186, 200.

<sup>118</sup> Th. Macridy and S. Casson, "Excavations at the Golden Gate, Constantinople," *Archaeologia*, LXXXI (1931), p. 63 ff. and pl. xli, fig. 2.

<sup>119</sup> The lower jaw of one of the serpent's heads was apparently broken off by Mehmed II: see *Second Report upon the Excavations*, etc. (as in note 14 *supra*), p. 1 ff. The exact date when all three heads disappeared has been in doubt: Ebersolt, *Constantinople byzantine et les voyageurs du Levant*, p. 176, note 1, infers that this must have happened some time in the eighteenth century. See, however, *Voyages du Sr. A. de la Motraye*, I (The Hague, 1727), p. 278: "Au mois de Juin [1700] la colonne *Serpentine*, à laquelle il restoit encore deux têtes de ses Serpens cordelez ou entrelacez, les ayant perdues pendant une nuit obscure, les *Turcs* ne firent non plus aucune perquisition pour découvrir ceux qui pouvoient les avoir abatues . . . Cependant les *Francois* soupçonnerent quelques-uns des gens de l'Ambassadeur d'*Allemagne* de les avoir rompues & emportées." Cf. also J. Pitton de Tournefort (who visited Constantinople in 1701), *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, II (Lyon, 1727), p. 228f.: "On dit que le Sultan Mourat avoit cassé la tête à un de ces serpens: la colonne fut renversée & les têtes des deux autres furent cassées en 1700, après la paix de Carlovitz. On ne sçait ce qu'elles sont devenues, mais le reste a été relevé, & se trouve entre les obelisques," etc.



1. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional. MS 5-3 N-2 fol. 65r, Skylitzes



2. Trebizond, Church of St. Anne, South Façade. Relief over Entrance Door





3. Athens, Panagia Gorgoepekoos, from east



4. Naples, Museo Nazionale.  
Sarcophagus



5. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana.  
Cod. E. 49-50, p. 755



6. Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate.  
Cod. Taphou 14, fol. 313<sup>r</sup>





7. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.  
Cod. Marc. gr. 454, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>



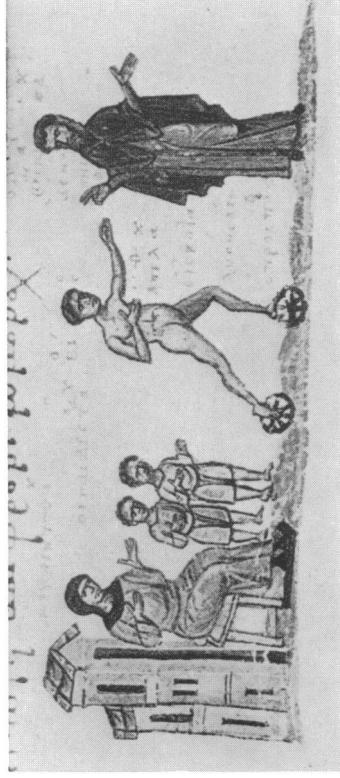
8. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana.  
Cod. Palat. gr. 431, sheet XII



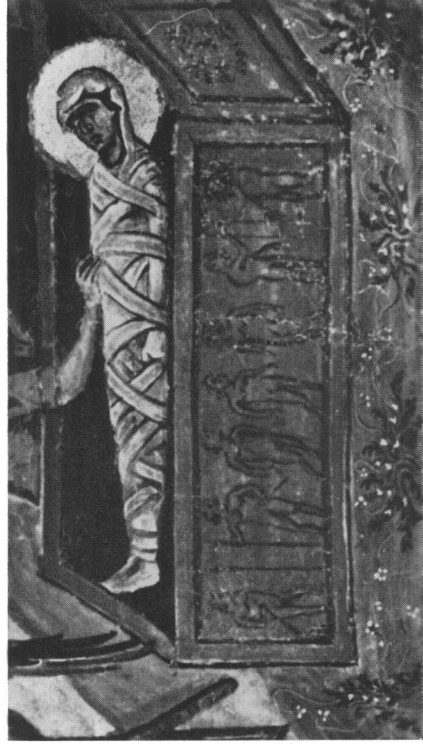
9. Rome, Vatican Museum, Tyche of Antioch



10. Xanten, St. Victor. Ivory Casket, detail



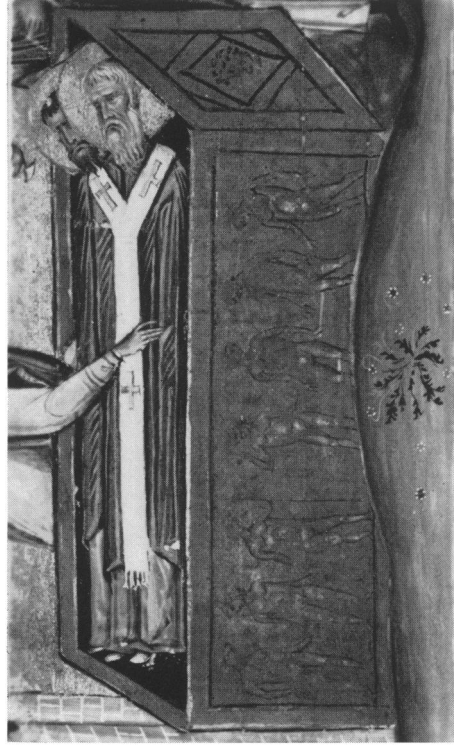
11. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana. Cod. Vat. gr. 394, fol. 394, fol. 12, detail



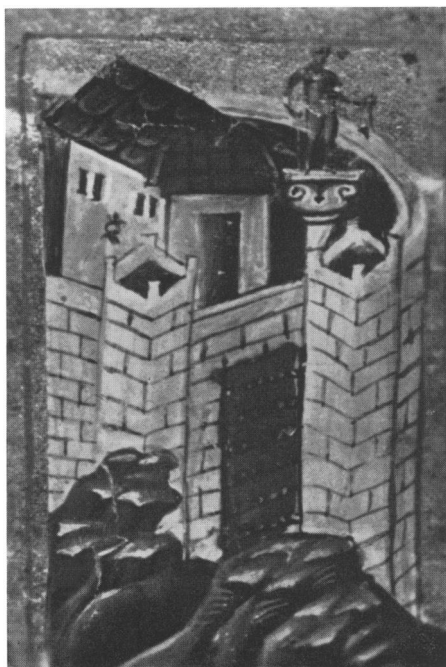
12. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana.  
Cod. Vat. gr. 1613, p. 3, detail (enlarged)



13. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana.  
Cod. Vat. gr. 1613, p. 146, detail (enlarged)



14. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana.  
Cod. Vat. gr. 1613, p. 154, detail (enlarged)



15. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana. Cod. Vat. gr. 1613, p. 13, detail (enlarged)



16. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana. Cod. Vat. gr. 1613, p. 371, detail (enlarged)



17. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana. Cod. Vat. gr. 1613, p. 406, detail (enlarged)

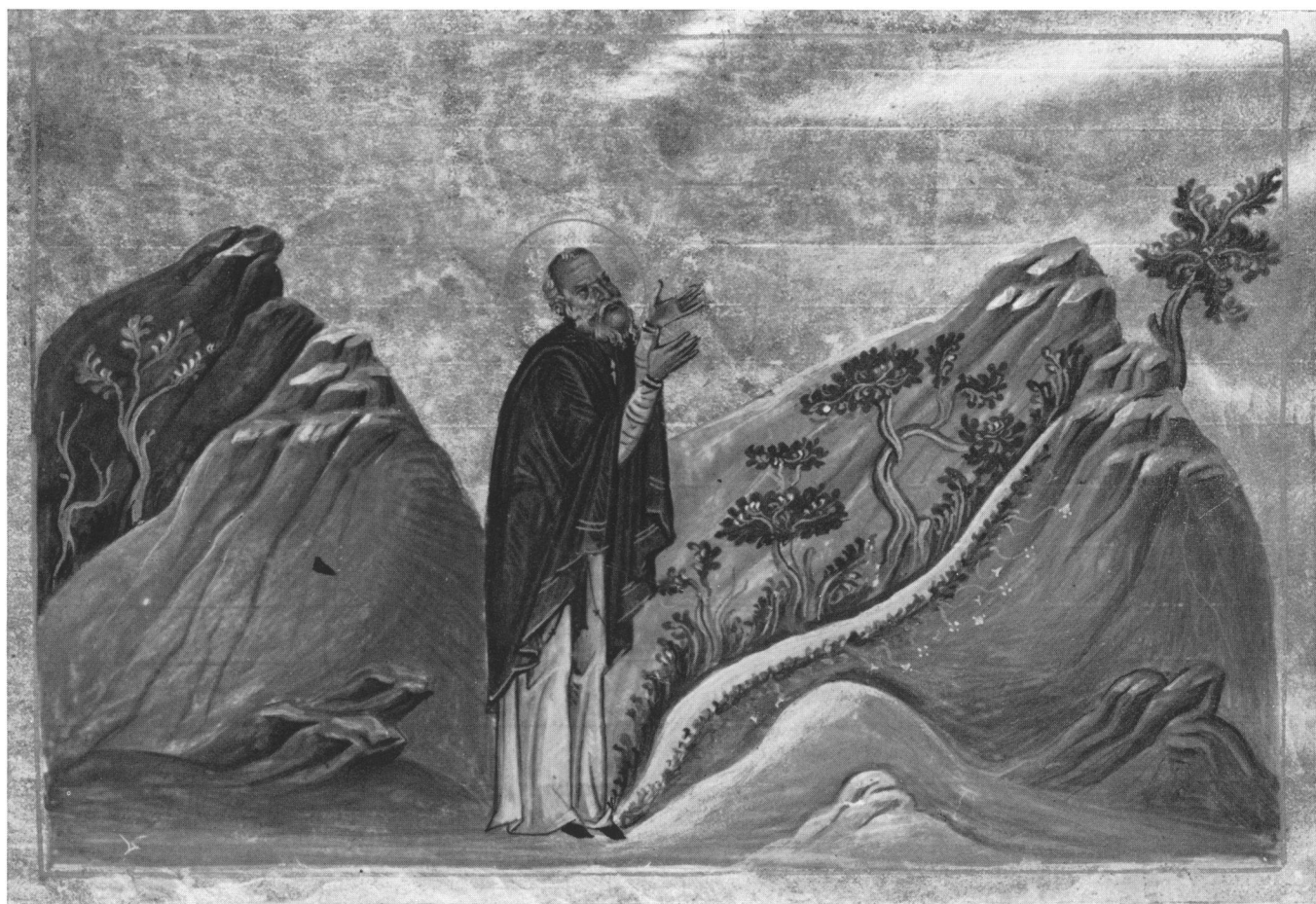


18. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Cod. Coislin 239, fol. 122v, detail





19. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana. Cod. Vat. gr. 1613, p. 371



20. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana. Cod. Vat. gr. 1613, p. 145

# DUMBARTON OAKS

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# Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries

HELEN SARADI-MENDELOVICI

The fate of classical monuments in late Antiquity has been studied against the background of hostility between Christians and pagans in the context of the Christianization of the Roman Empire. The disappearance of classical monuments has generally been viewed as a manifestation of the triumph of the Christian religion. Their destruction has been regarded as a result of deliberate attacks of the Christianized state, of fanatical bishops, monks, and common folk—those groups that had rejected the pagan cultural tradition.

In this paper I shall attempt to show that in late Antiquity Christians also had a positive attitude toward pagan monuments and transmitted this attitude to the Byzantium of later centuries. Hostility toward pagan monuments was far from being a general phenomenon, an officially adopted policy of the Christian state or of the Church. In many instances classical monuments fell into decay merely because they had been abandoned, whereas in other instances they were actually preserved, either because they had been transformed for Christian use or because of their artistic value. This assessment can be explained only if the subject is reexamined in the broader context of the cultural realities of late Antiquity. Conclusions from recent studies based on either archaeological evidence or literary sources will represent the starting point of this investigation. The nature of the available material and the evolution of Christianity within the Roman state impose a diachronic approach to the subject. One should also bear in mind that various local political and cultural forces produced divergent attitudes toward classical monuments.

This paper has greatly benefited from discussions with and comments of Professors A. Kazhdan, N. Oikonomides, A. Cutler, and R. Edwards, to whom I would like to express my gratitude.

## I

I shall first review the hostility of Christians toward pagan monuments on the basis of current bibliography and then examine what I shall call the “positive” attitude of the Christians. The historical evidence suggests that the peak of hostile actions against pagan monuments does not coincide with the “victory” of the Church at the beginning of the fourth century.<sup>1</sup> Most of the attacks against them, on the part of the state as well as of the Church, are attested for the end of the fourth century and coincide with the oppressive measures taken by Theodosius I. It would seem that the Church merely responded to an initiative of the state.<sup>2</sup> It has also been suggested that the Church had grown more confident because of internal reasons: it was not distracted by internal fights,

<sup>1</sup> St. Augustine, *De consensu evangelistarum*, 1.16 (CSEL 43, p. 22), referring to the middle of the 3rd century, mentions that already at that time Christians would have liked to see the destruction of all expressions of paganism (“eversio templorum et damnatio sacrificiorum et confractio simulacrorum”). On the attitudes of the early Christians toward pagan monuments, see T. C. G. Thornton, “The Destruction of Idols—Sinful or Meritorious?” *JTS*, n.s. 37 (1986), 121–24. For a general account of the attacks against pagan monuments and their transformation into Christian churches, see F. W. Deichmann, “Christianisierung II (der Monumente),” *RAC* 2 (1954), cols. 1228–41; idem, “Frühchristliche Kirchen in antiken Heiligtümern,” *JDAI* 54 (1939), 105–36.

<sup>2</sup> The attacks were started by Cynegius, praetorian prefect of Emperor Theodosius (A.D. 384–388). He destroyed temples and idols in the East and in Egypt; see R. MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire (A.D. 100–400)* (New Haven-London, 1984), 98; G. Fowden, “Bishops and Temples in the Eastern Roman Empire, A.D. 320–435,” *JTS* 29.1 (1978), 62–64. Libanius presents his actions as a result of the influence of his wife, who followed the advice of fanatical monks. But in a carefully formulated passage we discern the political reality that dictated his actions, namely, a law of May 385 (*CTh*, XVI.10.9): Libanius, *Or.* 30.3, 48 f. Cf. MacMullen, *Christianizing*, 98 note 34. Fowden, p. 77, also suggests that the Church was encouraged by imperial measures; the interference of the Church can also be explained by the incompetence of the decurions who were responsible for enforcing the law: *ibid.*, p. 55.

and bishops had established control over their flocks.<sup>3</sup>

The attitude of the state toward pagan monuments is related on the one hand to imperial religious policy, on the other hand to the cultural and social realities of the time. It has often been stated that the Christianization of the empire was a slow process. The emperors tried carefully to integrate Christians into the empire.<sup>4</sup> The upper class, with its strong pagan character, could not be neglected.<sup>5</sup> Imperial ceremony and symbolism remained predominantly pagan for some time.<sup>6</sup> It has been suggested that maintaining a pagan aspect helped to secure social order and presented better opportunities for conversion.<sup>7</sup> Paganism still constituted a social and cultural force. Despite all the differences that separated the two groups, the interaction between them was extremely important. In recent years scholars have tended to emphasize the physical coexistence of pagans and Christians and the mutual influences of the two cultures more strongly than their conflicts and differences.<sup>8</sup> It is

in this context that we must examine the attitudes of the state and the Church toward pagan monuments.

Anti-pagan legislation began in the reign of Constantine.<sup>9</sup> Restrictions on pagan worship became progressively more serious. In the beginning, imperial decrees were concerned with superstition, divination, and magic in connection with pagan ritual.<sup>10</sup> It is generally accepted that superstition was widespread in late Antiquity.<sup>11</sup> The term *superstitio* designated foreign cults and religious beliefs among the lower classes, while in Christian writings it was generally used to indicate paganism.<sup>12</sup>

Other measures against paganism included closing the temples, confiscating their property, and forbidding sacrifices and the worship of idols.<sup>13</sup> Destruction of temples is not found in the early decrees. Isolated incidents are mentioned in other sources: for example, Constantine ordered the destruction of the temple at Mamre and the erection of a church on the site.<sup>14</sup> A decree of the year 346

<sup>3</sup>MacMullen, *Christianizing*, 97.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. idem, "The Meaning of A.D. 312: The Difficulty of Converting the Empire," *17th International Byzantine Congress, Major Papers* (New York, 1986), 1–15.

<sup>5</sup>R. von Haehling, *Die Religionszugehörigkeit der hohen Amtsträger des römischen Reiches seit Constantins I. Alleinherrschaft* (Bonn, 1978), passim; D. M. Novak, "Constantine and the Senate: An Early Phase of the Christianization of the Roman Aristocracy," *Ancient Society* 10 (1979), 271–310; G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1984), 291 f. For a different view, cf. T. D. Barnes, "Christians and Pagans in the Reign of Constantius," in *L'Eglise et l'empire au IVe siècle* (Vandoeuvres-Geneva, 1989), 312–21.

<sup>6</sup>S. G. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1981); for the Christian elements of imperial symbolism, see S. Calderone, "Teologia politica, successione dinastica e consecratio in età constantiniana," in *Le culte des souverains dans l'empire romain* (Geneva, 1972), 246 f.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. MacMullen, *Christianizing*, 109 f, 135–36.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 40, 78. On the physical coexistence of pagans and Christians, see C. Guignebert, "Les demi-chrétiens et leur place dans l'Eglise antique," *RHR* 88 (1923), 65–102; W. Daut, "Die 'halben Christen' unter den Konvertiten," *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 55 (1971), 171–88; G. Bonner, "The Extinction of Paganism and the Church Historian," *JEH* 35.3 (1984), 348 ff. On pagan elements in religious practice and everyday life, see MacMullen, *Christianizing*, 74–85. On the interaction between pagan and Christian thought, literature, and art, see E. von Ivánka, *Hellenisches und Christliches im frühbyzantinischen Geistesleben* (Vienna, 1948); B. R. Rees, "Popular Religion in Graeco-Roman Egypt, II. The transition to Christianity," *JEA* 36 (1950), 86–100; W. Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); H. Chadwick, *Early Christianity and the Classical Tradition* (Oxford, 1960); Averil Cameron, "New and Old in Christian Literature," *17th International Byzantine Congress*, 45–58, esp. 48; and J. Engemann, "Christianization of Late Antique Art," *ibid.*, 83–105. For a general account, see W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1984), 554 f.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. T. D. Barnes, "Constantine's Prohibition of Pagan Sacrifice," *AJP* 105 (1984), 69–72; idem, "Christians," 322 f.

<sup>10</sup>*CTh*, IX.16.1–12 (a. 319–409); XVI.10.3 (a. 342), 9 (a. 385), 10 (a. 391), 12.1 (a. 392), 16 (a. 399), 17 (a. 399). See also R. Rémondon, *La crise de l'empire romain de Marc Aurèle à Anastase*, *Nouvelle Clio* 11 (Paris, 1970), 159–60; MacMullen, *Christianizing*, 96–97.

<sup>11</sup>A. Barb, "The Survival of Magic Arts," in A. D. Momigliano, ed., *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (London, 1962), 100–125; A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey*, II (Oxford, 1964) (hereafter *LRE*), 957–64; R. MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order: Treason, Unrest, and Alienation in the Empire* (Cambridge, 1966), 100–108; idem, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven, 1981), 70 f.; J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion* (Oxford, 1979), 119–39; for a different view, cf. P. Brown, *Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine* (London, 1972), 122 f.

<sup>12</sup>A. Momigliano, "Popular Religious Beliefs and the Late Roman Historians," *Studies in Church History* 8, *Popular Belief and Practice: Papers Read at the Ninth Summer Meeting and the Tenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. G. J. Cuming and D. Baker (Cambridge, 1972), 5 f. For a similar view, see also Jones, *LRE*, 962. Bonner, "Paganism," 346, suggests that the use of the imprecise term *superstitio* in the imperial legislation was intentional.

<sup>13</sup>Forbidding sacrifices: *CTh*, XVI.10.2 (a. 341), 4 (a. 346), 5 (a. 353), 6 (a. 356), 7 (a. 381), 9 (a. 385), 11 (a. 391); cf. J. Gaudemet, "La condamnation des pratiques païennes en 391," in *Epektasis: Mélanges patristiques offerts au cardinal Jean Daniélou* [Paris, 1972], 597–602, 12 (a. 392), 13 (a. 395), 17 (a. 399), 18 (a. 399), 25 (a. 435); closing the temples: XVI.10.4 (a. 346), 16 (a. 399); forbidding the worship of idols: XVI.10.6 (a. 356), 10 (a. 391); confiscating property of the temples: XVI.10.12.2 (a. 392), XVI.10.20.1–2 (a. 415); destroying idols: XVI.10.19.1 (a. 408).

<sup>14</sup>Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, III.51–53. Only six pagan sites are attested as having been attacked by Christians at the time of Constantine. In all these cases, extremely important reasons

explicitly mentions temples: those situated outside the city walls are to be preserved because of their connection with public entertainment, which had been established by long tradition.<sup>15</sup> Some scholars saw practical considerations in the policy of the Christian emperors: the temples had to be maintained because they were centers for commerce, social activities, and political meetings.<sup>16</sup>

The most important attacks against pagan temples are those by Cynegius, the destruction of the temples of Gaza by another imperial officer, and that of the Serapeum in Alexandria, destroyed after the clashes in 391 between Christians and pagans.<sup>17</sup> It is only in 398 and 399 that imperial legislation treats the "problem" of pagan temples in a different manner: the temples in the country had to be demolished without disturbing the peace; the masonry could be used for other construction.<sup>18</sup> In 407 imperial decrees ordered that idols be torn down, while the temples in the cities and in the countryside were to be designated for public use.<sup>19</sup> It is important for our investigation to stress the conclusion of several recent studies: a systematic destruction of pagan sanctuaries was never the intention of imperial policy.<sup>20</sup>

The attacks of the Church against the temples follow the same pattern. Destruction of pagan sanctuaries was not the result of an organized effort of the Church. It was occasional, and the work of local bishops,<sup>21</sup> mostly in the East and in Africa. Notorious are the cases of Bishop Marcellus in Apamea (in 391 or 392) and of Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria.<sup>22</sup> It is certain that bishops had not been officially granted authority to destroy pagan sanctuaries. The first and only decree that authorizes bishops to interfere is that of the year 407/

8, which refers to the prohibition of convivia.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, bishops, especially in the East and in Africa, often used the religious zeal of monks as a means of destroying temples.<sup>24</sup> We also hear of the destruction of pagan shrines by newly converted Christians. The sources present such actions as a manifestation of their adherence to Christianity.<sup>25</sup> Destroying the places of worship was also used as an alternative method of conversion when peaceful means of persuasion (preaching, miracles, etc.) or social factors (rewards, etc.) seemed insufficient.<sup>26</sup>

In fact, several sources suggest that most of the temples were gradually decaying, not because of Christian attacks, but because they had already been abandoned. We hear of abandoned temples in an early period, before the triumph of Christianity. Pliny, in his *Epistulae*, X.96.10, insists that oppressive measures against the Christians would bring worshipers back to sanctuaries: "Certe satis constat prope iam desolata templa coepisse celebrari, et sacra sollemnia diu intermissa repeti passimque venire carmen victimarum, cuius adhuc rarissimus emptor inveniebatur." The fourth-century description of the temple of Mithra in Alexandria by Socrates is revealing: the site was ἐκ παλαιῶν τῶν χρόνων ἔρημος καὶ ἡμελημένος. Emperor Constantius donated the sanctuary ὡς σχολαῖον to the Church of Alexandria.<sup>27</sup>

First the temples were stripped of their treasures, then they became dilapidated.<sup>28</sup> The impression that we gain from the literary sources is confirmed by the archaeological evidence. Jean-Michel Spieser, in a survey of archaeological reports on sanctuaries in Greece, concluded: (1) Christians destroyed very few pagan temples in Greece (he does not count sanctuaries destroyed at a later date, since such destructions were not carried out with a hostile intent);<sup>29</sup> (2) in a few cases

had dictated these actions: R. L. Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (New York, 1987), 671–72.

<sup>15</sup> *CTh*, XVI.10.3.

<sup>16</sup> MacMullen, *Christianizing*, 96–97.

<sup>17</sup> On the destruction of the temples of Gaza, see H. Grégoire and M.-A. Kugener, *Marc le Diacre, Vie de Porphyre* (Paris, 1930), § 63–66. See also Fowden, "Bishops," 73; MacMullen, *Christianizing*, 89. On the destruction of the Serapeum, see N. Q. King, *The Emperor Theodosius and the Establishment of Christianity* (London, 1961), 78–82; Fowden, "Bishops," 69–70.

<sup>18</sup> *CTh*, XVI.10.16 (a. 399); XV.1.36 (a. 397).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI.10.19.1–2 (a. 407).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. King, *Theodosius*, 71 f.; W. E. Kaegi, "The Fifth-Century Twilight of Byzantine Paganism," *ClMed* 27 (1966), 243–75, esp. 271 f.; D. J. Constantelos, "Paganism and the State in the Age of Justinian," *CHR* 50 (1964–65), 372–80, esp. 378–80.

<sup>21</sup> For a general account, see Fowden, "Bishops."

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 64 f.; MacMullen, *Christianizing*, 98–99. See also A. Favale, *Teofilo d'Alessandria (345–c.412): Scritti, vita e dottrina* (Turin, 1958).

<sup>23</sup> *CTh*, XVI.10.19.3; cf. Fowden, "Bishops," 53.

<sup>24</sup> For example, in A.D. 399 John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople, sent monks against the temples of Phoenicia: Theodoret, *HE*, V.29; John Chrysostom, PG 52, cols. 676–78, 685–87. Cf. also Libanius, *Pro templis*, 8. See also W. H. C. Frend, "The Winning of the Countryside," *JEH* 18 (1967), 7–8; J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch, City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1972), 237.

<sup>25</sup> Theodoret, *Historia religiosa*, 26.

<sup>26</sup> MacMullen, *Christianizing*, 99–101.

<sup>27</sup> Socrates, *HE*, III.2. Cf. also Libanius, *Or.* XVIII.23.

<sup>28</sup> Cf., for example, the case of the sanctuary of Asclepius at Aegae in Cilicia, the columns of which had been removed by Christians: Zonaras, *Epitomae historiarum*, XIII.12.30–34.

<sup>29</sup> Among the few exceptions is the basilica of Paleopolis in Corfu (5th or even 6th century). In the inscription of consecration it is mentioned that the bishop Jovianus had destroyed pa-



in which temples were destroyed for religious aims, the sites of destroyed temples were avoided and Christians did not build churches on them (there is only one exception, the basilica of Palaeopolis in Corfu); and (3) with very few exceptions, churches were built on temple sites later, at a time when this could no longer have any anti-pagan significance.<sup>30</sup>

## II

In investigating the cases in which Christians incorporated pagan monuments in their culture, I shall combine evidence from a variety of sources that have not been studied in this context. I shall limit myself to those that illustrate best the various aspects of the problem in its complexity.

First, it must be emphasized that classical monuments never ceased to be appreciated for their artistic value, especially by the educated classes. The Christian emperors decorated their capital with pagan statues from various cities of the empire. Cyril Mango, in a study of the significance of ancient statuary in Byzantine civilization, expresses his surprise at the collection of pagan statues by Christian emperors and remarks that it "constitutes something of a paradox."<sup>31</sup> He suggests that the explanation lies in the ambiguous religious policy of the first Christian emperors. Christian thinkers developed an artificial explanation: according to Eusebius, pagan statues thus exposed were subject to public ridicule.<sup>32</sup> Despite this statement, certainly dictated by one-sided Christian attitudes, Eusebius does not conceal what apparently was in everyone's mind, that is, the artistic value of these monuments: ἐπληροῦτο δὲ διόλου πᾶσα ἡ βασιλέως ἐπώνυμος πόλις τῶν κατὰ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐντέχνους χαλκοῦ φιλοκαλίας ἀφιερωμένων.

gagan temples and replaced them with a church: J. Papadimitriou, 'Ο Ἰοβιανὸς τῆς βασιλικῆς τῆς Παλαιοπόλεως Κερκύρας, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. (1942-44), suppl., 39-48.

<sup>30</sup>J.-M. Spieser, "La christianisation des sanctuaires païens en Grèce," *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern, Symposium in Olympia 10.-12. Oktober 1974*, Anlässlich der Hundertjahrfeier der Abteilung Athen, ed. Ulf Jantzen (Tübingen, 1976), 309-20. Cf. also J. Geffcken, *The Last Days of Greco-Roman Paganism*, trans. S. MacCormack (Amsterdam, 1978), 228. Regarding the destruction of the temple of Asclepius at Athens and the erection of a Christian church, see A. Frantz, "From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens," *DOP* 19 (1965), 194-96. For a different view, cf. T. E. Gregory, "The Christian Asklepieion in Athens," *BSCAbstr* 9 (1983), 39-40. The temple was abandoned by ca. 485 and shortly afterward a church was built on the site.

<sup>31</sup>C. Mango, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder," *DOP* 17 (1963), 55-75.

<sup>32</sup>*Vita Constantini*, III.54.

John Chrysostom, later in the same century, offers another "Christian" explanation why the pagan statue of the sanctuary at Daphne in Antioch had not been destroyed earlier by the Christian emperor: he wanted to demonstrate that only a victory won against an enemy when he is powerful and glorious is worthwhile.<sup>33</sup> Socrates, in a similar way, tries to explain why Patriarch Theophilus of Alexandria ordered the erection of one of the pagan statues in a public place, when he had commanded that all others be destroyed: in this way the Hellenes would not deny that they had worshiped such gods in the past; it would also cause the pagan religion to be derided (ἐπὶ γέλωτι τῆς Ἑλλήνων θρησκείας).<sup>34</sup> Theodoret, in his *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, states that pagans tried to hide pagan cult objects, while Christians exposed them in the agoras so that women and children would laugh (κωμωδεῖσθαι) at the so-called gods.<sup>35</sup>

I should note here that a series of imperial decrees suggests that collecting statues from various monuments was a more general phenomenon in the fourth century, and it was limited neither to Christians nor to the capital. The first constitution dates from the year 365 (*CTh*, XV.1.14). It makes clear that collecting was frequently practiced in the provinces: the provincial governors were transferring statues, slabs of marble, or columns (*transferendorum signorum vel marmorum vel columnarum materiam*) from smaller cities to the big cities (*metropoles vel splendidissimas civitates*) in order to decorate them (*ornare*).<sup>36</sup> A series of laws concerning the violation of sepulchers supplements these points. In a decree of the year 357, penalties were inflicted upon those who "should remove from a tomb either stones, marble, columns, or any other materials to be used for building purposes, or should do so with the intention of selling them."<sup>37</sup> From a decree of the year 363, we learn that people removed "the ornaments of tombs for the purpose of decorating banqueting halls or porticoes!"<sup>38</sup>

The circumstances of this phenomenon cannot be easily discerned. It is a generally held view that there was a shortage of materials and qualified artists in the fourth century A.D. as a consequence of

<sup>33</sup>PG 50, col. 561; cf. also col. 572.

<sup>34</sup>Socrates, *HE*, V.16.

<sup>35</sup>Theodoret, *HE*, X.58.

<sup>36</sup>Cf. also *CTh*, XV.1.19 (a. 376), 37(a. 398); Nov. Maj. IV in *CTh*, vol. 2 (a. 458); *CI*, 8.10.2 (a. 222), 7 (a. 363), and the restriction of Constantine regarding private houses 6 (a. 321).

<sup>37</sup>*CTh*, IX.17.4 = *CI*, IX.19.4: "Si quis igitur de sepulchro abstulerit saxa vel marmora vel columnas aliamve quamcumque materiam, fabricandi gratia sive id fecerit venditurus."

<sup>38</sup>*CTh*, IX.17.5 = *CI*, IX.19.5: "sed et ornamenta quaedam tricliniis aut porticibus auferri de sepulchris."

the economic crisis of the third century.<sup>39</sup> This view is based on indirect information from a decree of Constantine by which artists and other specialized professionals were exempted from public services.<sup>40</sup> It would appear that lack of artists is not sufficiently documented in the sources and that the breakup of public buildings can be explained differently. The phenomenon might be related to patronage and city finances: according to imperial legislation, the patrons of public works were mainly provincial governors who were interested in decorating their provincial capitals with ready-made material from cities. On the other hand, because of the decline of the decurions, the municipal administration lacked interest in protecting public buildings in the smaller cities.<sup>41</sup> The diminishing importance of public space in late Antiquity could also explain the breakup of urban public buildings. Various sources testify to an invasion of urban public space by private individuals: houses were built in formerly public areas, porticoes were closed by the erection of modest temporary or permanent dwellings, and so forth. Economic, administrative, and cultural changes have been suggested to explain this tendency.<sup>42</sup> It may well be that the emergence and development of Christian art in the third and fourth centuries affected the production of non-Christian art, and that the phenomenon we have observed could also be explained as a natural reaction toward appropriating objects of art that already belonged to the past. It is certain that the texts do not connect the phenomenon with any hostile actions of Christians against pagans. Therefore, in the light of evidence from other sources, which testify to the appreciation of the artistic value of the pagan monuments by Christians, the phenomenon takes on a special significance.

Emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, for example, in a *constitutio* of the year 382, ordered that a certain temple at Osrhoene in Mes-

opotamia be kept open so that the public could enjoy the aesthetic value of the statues displayed there:

By the authority of the public council We decree that the temple shall continually be open that was formerly dedicated to the assemblage of throngs of people and now also is for the common use of the people, and in which images are reported to have been placed which must be measured by the value of their art rather than by their divinity; We do not permit any divine imperial response that was surreptitiously obtained to prejudice this situation. In order that this temple may be seen by the assemblages of the city and by frequent crowds, Your Experience shall preserve all celebrations of festivities, and by the authority of Our divine imperial response, you shall permit the temple to be open, but in such a way that the performance of sacrifices forbidden therein may not be supposed to be permitted under the pretext of such access to the temple.<sup>43</sup>

In a *constitutio* of the year 399, Emperors Arcadius and Theodosius decreed that the ornaments of public works (*publicorum operum ornamenta servari*) be preserved. "If any person should attempt to destroy such works, he shall not have the right to flatter himself as relying on any authority, if perchance he should produce any rescript or any law at his defense. Such documents shall be torn from his hands and referred to Our Wisdom."<sup>44</sup> Another decree of the same emperors forbade the destruction of "temples which are empty of illicit things" (*Aedes illicitis rebus vacuas nostrarum beneficio sanctionum ne quis conetur evertere*). But if sacrifices are still conducted there, then the idols must be taken down.<sup>45</sup> A similar attitude to pagan temples and statues is attested as late as the sixth century. Justinian ordered Narses to destroy pagan temples in Egypt and to send the statues to Constantinople.<sup>46</sup> Perhaps the most famous collection of ancient statues in Constantinople was that of the baths of Zeuxippus. The nature of these statues, different from those that traditionally decorated ancient baths, suggests that the intention of the collectors was to display objects of art.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Jones, *LRE*, 862–63; idem, *The Roman Economy: Studies in Ancient Economic and Administrative History* (Oxford, 1974), 107.

<sup>40</sup> *CTh*, XIII.IV.1 (a. 334), 2 (a. 337).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Jones, *LRE*, 737 f, esp. 757–63; Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*, 167 f; D. Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1969), 108–14.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. H. Saradi-Mendelovici, "The Demise of the Ancient Greek City and the Emergence of the Mediaeval City in the Eastern Roman Empire," *Classical Views* 32, n.s. 7 (1988), 385–87; A. Kazhdan and A. Cutler, "Continuity and Discontinuity in Byzantine History," *Byzantion* 52 (1982), 460, 463–64. On the transformation of the open space of ancient houses, see S. P. Ellis, "The End of the Roman House," *AJA* 92 (1988), 565–76; Y. Thébert in *A History of Private Life: From Pagan Rome to Byzantium*, ed. P. Veyne (Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1987), 353 ff, esp. 391–92.

<sup>43</sup> *CTh*, XVI.10.8: "Aedem olim frequentiae dedicatam coetui et iam populo quoque communem, in qua simulacra feruntur posita artis pretio quam divinitate metienda iugiter patere publici consilii auctoritate decernimus neque huic rei obreptivum officere sinimus oraculum. Ut conventu urbis et frequenti coetu videatur, experientia tua omni votorum celebritate servata auctoritate nostri ita patere templum permittat oraculi, ne illic prohibitorum usus sacrificiorum huius occasione aditus permissus esse credatur" (trans. C. Pharr, Princeton, 1969).

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI.10.15.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI.10.18 (a. 399).

<sup>46</sup> Procopius, *Pers.*, I.19.37.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. S. Bassett Clucas, "Statuary in the Baths of Zeuxippos," *BSCA* 14 (1988), 39. For the collection of statues at the Hippodrome, cf. *ibid.*, 9 (1983), 34–35.

It is striking that even ecclesiastics took a similar view. The fifty-eighth canon of the fifth council of Carthage (A.D. 401) urges the emperors to order that the idols of Africa be destroyed; the temples that are in the fields and in other remote places must also be destroyed, but only if they had been left without embellishments.<sup>48</sup> The modern reader is surprised at the attitude of this official ecclesiastical text. A Byzantine scholiast of the twelfth century, Zonaras, was obviously overwhelmed. He therefore invents an artificial interpretation of the canon mentioned above: "the canon does not imply that the temples with adornments had to be preserved."<sup>49</sup>

Julian, in *Epistula* 79, refers to Pegasius, the bishop of Ilion, who maintained the pagan temples of his city. He destroyed only a few building blocks in order not to arouse suspicion and to be able to save the rest (πέφηνε γὰρ οὐδαμοῦ τῶν ἱερῶν ἡδίκηκῶς πλὴν ὀλίγων παντάπασι λίθων ἐκ καταλύματος, ἵνα αὐτῷ, σώζειν ἐξῇ τὰ λοιπά). A *constitutio* of the year 365 issued by Valentinian and Valens suggests that in several cases Christians were actively involved in preserving pagan temples.<sup>50</sup> Other Christian sources explicitly mention the beauty of pagan monuments.<sup>51</sup>

Pagans, of course, regarded pagan monuments in much the same way. For example, in his *Pro templis* Libanius speaks about the beauty of a statue of Asclepius in the city of Beroea, destroyed by Christians, and he remarks that by destroying it, the Christians had deprived the city of its adornment (ἀποκοσμοῦντες τὴν πόλιν).<sup>52</sup> In his *Antiochikos* he claims that "the palaces of gods are adornment

and protection to the city."<sup>53</sup> Eusebius expresses a similar idea using a similar vocabulary: τέμενος, οὐκ ἐν μέσαις πόλεσιν οὐδ' ἐν ἀγοραῖς καὶ πλατείαις, ὅποια τὰ πολλὰ κόσμου χάριν ταῖς πόλεσιν φιλοτιμεῖται.<sup>54</sup> In the year 359 the temple of Fortuna in Antioch was deprived of "its beauties" (μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης αἰγλῆς).<sup>55</sup> In the fifth century Eunapius, in his *Vitae sophistarum*, cites the prophecy of an Egyptian seer regarding the destruction of the Serapeum: "after his death the temple would cease to be, and even the great and holy temples of Serapis would pass into formless darkness and be transformed, and that a fabulous and unseemly gloom would hold sway over the fairest things on earth. To all these prophecies time bore witness, and in the end his prediction gained the force of an oracle."<sup>56</sup>

Apart from these testimonials to the artistic significance of the classical monuments for Christians, other sources, mainly archaeological and hagiographical ones, reveal a more complex picture, namely, the re-use of pagan monuments by Christians. We should distinguish between the use of building materials of temples for churches and the establishment of churches on the sites of pagan sanctuaries. With reference to the first case, two explanations have been suggested.

(1) Slabs of marble from temples provided ready-made building materials for other structures. Convenience and financial motives could easily explain their use. Libanius, in his *Funeral Oration over Julian*, mentions that already at that time people were using stones of abandoned temples for building their houses.<sup>57</sup> The *constitutio* of the year 397 ordered that building materials of temples be used for construction of public buildings (roads, bridges, aqueducts, city walls, etc.).<sup>58</sup> Archaeologists are often struck by the fact that ancient stones are incorporated into churches without any attempt to produce a symmetrical whole. Such asymmetrical arrangements suggest indifference toward the principles of classical aesthetics and architecture. The obvious conclusion is that Christian architects no longer appreciated the artistic value of the classical monuments. This conclusion of course leads to the suggestion that only

<sup>48</sup> Mansi, III, col. 766: "Instant etiam aliae necessitates religionis imperatoribus postulandae, ut reliquias idolorum per omnem Africam jubeant penitus amputari: nam plerisque in locis maritimis, atque possessionibus diversis, adhuc erroris istius iniquitas viget: ut praecipiantur et ipsas deleri, et templa eorum, quae in agris, vel in locis abditis constituta nullo ornamento sunt, jubeantur omnimodo destrui" (Canons 57–65 were from the 5th council of Carthage in 401; cf. Hefele, II, p. 125 ff, 205–6).

<sup>49</sup> G. A. Rhallis and M. Potlis, Σύνταγμα τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων, III (Athens, 1853), 462: τοῦτο δὲ εἶπεν οὐχὶ διαστέλλουσα, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν χωρὶς εὐκοσμίας ὄντας καθαιρεθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ κόσμον ἔτι ἔχοντας περισώζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ δεικνύουσα, ὅτι ἤδη ἤρξαντο καθαιρεῖσθαι, ἀφαιρεθέντες δὲ περιέκειντο κόσμον, καὶ οἷον ἡμικατάλυτοι γεγονότες.

<sup>50</sup> CTh, XVI.1.1: "Quisquis seu iudex seu apparitor ad custodiam templorum homines Christianae religionis adposuerit sciat non saluti suae, non fortunae esse parcendum."

<sup>51</sup> Cf., for example, about the temple of Serapis in Alexandria, Theodore, HE, V.22: μέγιστός τε οὗτος καὶ κάλλιστος and Sozomen, HE, VII.15: ναὸς δὲ οὗτος ἦν κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει ἐμφανέστατος.

<sup>52</sup> Or. XXX.22.

<sup>53</sup> Or. XI.125: κόσμος τε τῇ πόλει καὶ φυλακῇ, τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀνάκτορα.

<sup>54</sup> Vita Constantini, III.55.

<sup>55</sup> Libanius, Ep. 88.2. Cf. also Julian, Ep. 60, 379b (τὸν ἐν ἱεροῖς κόσμον).

<sup>56</sup> Eunapius, Vitae sophistarum, VI.9.17 (trans. Loeb).

<sup>57</sup> Or. XVIII.126.

<sup>58</sup> CTh, XV.1.36.

financial reasons dictated the use of ancient slabs of marble. It also implies that early Christian artists and those to whom they addressed their work were indifferent to the aesthetic effects of such architectural arrangements. It has also been suggested that the re-use of classical slabs of marble shows "the qualities of dematerialized formal design that represent the spiritual ideals of the new religion."<sup>59</sup> Perhaps another interpretation ought to be considered: the sculptural decoration of Byzantine churches is asymmetrical as a rule and the haphazard insertion of ancient stones in churches might have helped in producing this effect. Descriptions of Byzantine churches praise the *ποικιλία* as a basic characteristic of their decoration.<sup>60</sup> It is interesting to note that later Byzantine sources express admiration at the re-use of building materials, especially columns from other monuments: Constantine the Rhodian wrote an *enkomion* of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople in which he praises the variety of the columns transported there from other places:

Τοὺς κίονας δὲ τοὺς ξένους καὶ τὴν φύσιν  
καὶ τὴν χρῶαν πέλοντας, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι  
πόθεν τὲ καὶ πῶς καὶ τίνος πάτρας γένος  
φέροντες ἦλθον εἰς Ἀποστόλων δόμον,  
οὓς ἀλλόφυλος ἀλλοδαπή τις φύσις  
ἤνεγκε πέτρας ἐκ φύλου τὲ καὶ ξένης.<sup>61</sup>

(2) Cyril Mango puts forward other interpretations based on observations of the use of ancient blocks of marble in later Byzantine churches: since the ancient stones were placed in highly conspicuous places in the churches, they were given a Christian reinterpretation, or apotropaic power was attributed to them.<sup>62</sup> The literary sources, unfortunately, do not provide evidence that could explain this phenomenon with certainty.

The erection of churches on sites of pagan sanctuaries is an even more complex subject. Some literary sources testify to an early Christian founding of churches on such sites. Constantine set a prece-

dent when he ordered the destruction of the temple at Mamre and replaced it with a church.<sup>63</sup> However, there is no evidence that for Constantine he favored a systematic transformation of temples into churches.<sup>64</sup> In Alexandria George, the bishop who succeeded Athanasius, was given permission to transform the temple of Mithra into a church.<sup>65</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus transformed a temple into a church in his bishopric.<sup>66</sup> According to literary evidence, the oracle of Sarpedon Apollo in Seleucia was converted into a Christian church in the first half of the fourth century.<sup>67</sup> Sozomen states that Patriarch Theophilus of Alexandria intended to transform a temple of Dionysus into a church,<sup>68</sup> while the Serapeum, stripped of its statues, was transformed into a church.<sup>69</sup> At Gaza a church was built on the site of the Marneion after its destruction.

The Life of St. Porphyry by Mark the Deacon offers an interesting description of how Christians felt about the erection of churches on sites of pagan sanctuaries. After the destruction of the statues and other objects of worship in the Marneion by imperial agents, the Christians debated how to use the structure: some suggested that it be torn down, others that it be burned down, and yet others that the site be purified and sanctified by the erection of a church. Since they could not reach an agreement (*ἦν πολλὴ περὶ τούτου ἡ σκέψις*), the bishop ordered the people to fast and pray, expecting a divine revelation. In the evening a seven-year old child spelled out an oracle in Syriac: the temple must be burned down, since many crimes had been committed there, especially human sacrifices.<sup>70</sup> Porphyry wanted to build a church on the site according to a revelation that he had earlier

<sup>59</sup>Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, III.52–53; cf. also 58 (Helio-polis).

<sup>60</sup>Cf. Dagron, *Constantinople*, 400–401.

<sup>61</sup>Socrates, *HE*, III.2; Sozomen, *HE*, V.7. The temple was given to the Church of Alexandria by Emperor Constantius.

<sup>62</sup>PG 38, col. 99 (*Epigrammata*, 30): Εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὅπου κατέμενε, μετασχηματισθεῖσαν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἦν γὰρ ναὸς εἰδώλων.

Ἀρχαία πόλις εἰμι δαίμοσι καμοῦσα,  
Αὐθις ἀνηγέρθη παλάμαις Γρηγορίου.  
Ναὸς ἐτύχθη Χριστοῦ· δαίμονες, εἴξατέ μοι.

<sup>63</sup>O. v. Lemm, "Koptische Fragmente zur Patriarchengeschichte Alexandriens," *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, 7 ser., 36, 11 (1888), 40 ff, cited in H. Hellenkemper and F. Hild, *Neue Forschungen in Kilikien* (Vienna, 1986), 44–45.

<sup>64</sup>Sozomen, *HE*, VII.15.2–10. Different accounts by Socrates, *HE*, V.16; Rufinus, *HE*, XI.22.

<sup>65</sup>Sozomen, *HE*, VII.15.

<sup>66</sup>Grégoire and Kugener, *Marc le Diacre*, § 66.

<sup>59</sup>Cf. the remarks of R. L. Scranton, *Mediaeval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth*, *Corinth* 16, (Princeton, 1957), 26 note 73. It is important to note that the re-use of ancient building materials is no longer viewed by archaeologists as an indication of decline: N. Duval, "Études sur l'architecture chrétienne nord-africaine," *Mélanges* 84, *Antiquité* (1972), 1071–72.

<sup>60</sup>Διήγησις περὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς . . . τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας, ed. E. Vitti, *Die Erzählung über den Bau der Hagia Sophia in Konstantinopel. Kritische Edition mehrerer Versionen* (Amsterdam, 1986), pp. 454, line 9 and 462, line 8.

<sup>61</sup>E. Legrand, "Description des oeuvres d'art et de l'église des Saints Apôtres de Constantinople: Poème en vers iambiques par Constantin le Rhodien," *REG* 9 (1896), p. 56, verses 686–91.

<sup>62</sup>Mango, "Statuary," 63–64.

when he visited Empress Eudocia in Constantinople.<sup>71</sup> Some Christians agreed with him, but others wanted to see the place abandoned. They left the decision to God. In fact, a letter from the empress contained both wishes and promises of financial support and a cruciform plan for the church that matched the actual plan of the Marneion.<sup>72</sup> The miracle convinced the Christians that they should erect their church on the site. This account contains an interesting detail: the saint ordered that slabs of marble from the most sacred part of the temple be used as pavement in the front yard of the church, so that people as well as animals would step on them.<sup>73</sup> It is possible, however, that this account reflects later interpretations, since the *Life* was apparently written after 534.<sup>74</sup>

In the *Life* and *Miracles* of St. Thekla, three places of pagan worship are said to have been transformed into Christian churches: the temples of Sarpedon Apollo, of Athena on the acropolis of Seleucia, and of Zeus. The exact dates remain uncertain,<sup>75</sup> which is true for most of the pagan sites transformed into churches. Unfortunately archaeology does not support the literary evidence for the early replacement of pagan sanctuaries by Christian churches. The poor preservation of early Christian architectural structures causes serious difficulties in dating this process with precision. We have seen that, according to the study of Spieser, the archaeological evidence in Greece suggests a later replacement of pagan temples by churches. Spieser concludes that this phenomenon can be explained neither by Christian hostility against the pagan cult nor as a manifestation of Christian victory; he suggests a different explanation for it: lack of available land in the cities and towns, because of the reduction of their size caused by the invasions at the end of late Antiquity.<sup>76</sup>

In other locations it was often a matter of convenience.<sup>77</sup> In Egypt the famous temple of Philae was transformed into a church in the reign of Jus-

tinian.<sup>78</sup> Archaeologists have reached similar conclusions about Christian churches erected on the sites of pagan sanctuaries in Asia Minor.<sup>79</sup> In the past scholars had recognized similarities between the pagan cult and the Christian one that replaced it at the same site, and concluded that the Church had systematically transformed pagan sanctuaries into churches. This view has long ago been refuted.<sup>80</sup>

Scanty literary evidence suggests a theological interpretation. Churches on pagan sites were considered to have purified the "polluted" places. Libanius testifies to this idea: τοὺς δὲ (νεῶς) βεβήλους ἀποφήνας πόρνοις ἐνοικεῖν ἔδωκε.<sup>81</sup> According to an imperial decree of the year 435, all pagan sanctuaries in which pagan cults were still performed "shall be destroyed by the command of the magistrates, and shall be purified by the erection of the sign of the venerable Christian religion."<sup>82</sup> Theodoret explains in this way the use of building materials from pagan temples: αἱ δὲ τούτων ὕλαι καθωσιώθησαν τοῖς τῶν μαρτύρων σπηκοῖς.<sup>83</sup> Statues were often treated in a similar way: drawing the sign of the cross on the forehead of statues appears to have been a common practice.<sup>84</sup>

Hagiographical sources often mention saints moving into deserted pagan temples in the countryside for shelter. In connection with this, they describe their spiritual fights against the demons that inhabited the temples. One of the earliest cases is the establishment of St. Thekla in the temple of Sarpedon in Seleucia.<sup>85</sup> In the *Life* of St. Matrona (5th–6th centuries) the saint moved into

<sup>78</sup>Cf. P. Nautin, "La conversion du temple de Philae en église chrétienne," *CahArch* 17 (1967), 1–43, esp. 1–8.

<sup>79</sup>See, for example, one of the earliest Christian churches in Cilicia, the church at Ayaş built on a pagan temple (probably of Zeus) dating from the end of the 5th century: M. Gough, "A Temple and Church at Ayaş (Cilicia)," *AS* 4 (1954), 49–64, esp. 63. For a general account of transformation of churches into temples, see O. Feld and H. Weber, "Tempel und Kirche über der korykischen Grotte (Cennet Cehennem) in Kilikien," *IM* 17 (1967), 254–79.

<sup>80</sup>Cf. H. Delehay, *Les légendes hagiographiques* (Brussels, 1955), 151 f; A.-J. Festugière, *Sainte Thècle. Saints Côme et Damien. Saints Cyr et Jean (Extraits). Saint Georges* (Paris, 1971), 91–95. The sites on which a continuity of the pagan cult can be traced with certainty are very few: T. E. Gregory, "The Survival of Paganism in Christian Greece: A Critical Essay," *AJP* 107.2 (1986), 229–42, esp. 237 ff.

<sup>81</sup>*Or.* XVII.7.

<sup>82</sup>*CTh*, XVI.10.25.

<sup>83</sup>Theodoret, *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, VIII.68.

<sup>84</sup>Cf. Julian, *Ep.* 79 (Bidez, p. 86, lines 15–17).

<sup>85</sup>Dagron, *Thècle*, 84, 278. Cf. also his remarks in *Information de l'Histoire de l'Art* (1973), 163–67, esp. 164.

<sup>71</sup>*Ibid.*, § 45.

<sup>72</sup>*Ibid.*, § 75.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*, § 76. On the *Vita* of Porphyry, cf. the thoughts of R. Van Dam, "From Paganism to Christianity at Late Antique Gaza," *Viator* 16 (1985), 1–20, regarding the conflict between Christianity and paganism within a specific community.

<sup>74</sup>Cf. P. Peeters, "La vie géorgienne de Saint Porphyre de Gaza," *AB* 59 (1941), 65–216 (I owe this information to Prof. T. D. Barnes).

<sup>75</sup>Cf. G. Dagron, *Vie et miracles de Sainte Thècle: Texte grec, traduction et commentaire* (Brussels, 1978), 81 ff, 278, 290–94.

<sup>76</sup>Cf. Spieser, "La christianisation," 311.

<sup>77</sup>Dagron, *Thècle*, 83.

an already deserted temple near Beirut because she preferred to be consumed by demons rather than be found by her husband.<sup>86</sup> The temple was inhabited by idols and demons, whom she succeeded in turning away by her holy and pure conduct (ἡ πολιτεία αὐτῆς ἡ ἀγγελικὴ καὶ ἡ ἀγνεΐα ἡ λαμπρά).<sup>87</sup> St. Daniel the Stylite settled in a pagan temple at Anaplon near Constantinople. He heard from local people that the temple was inhabited by demons who caused all kinds of damage to the inhabitants of the area, especially shipwrecks. The saint was inspired by the Holy Spirit, and after recalling the struggles of St. Antony, the founder of monasticism, and of his pupil Paul against the demons, he entered the temple like a soldier fighting against a great number of barbarians. Three days later he succeeded in driving them away, and remained in the temple for nine years.<sup>88</sup> Other sources testify to an early settling of deserted pagan temples by hermits.<sup>89</sup> The saints consolidated their positions at such sites by performing miracles. The moral was clear: the Christian religion was superior.<sup>90</sup> These sources also imply that there were practical considerations in choosing a former pagan sanctuary as an abode: they provided a convenient retreat.

At the end of the period under investigation, symbolic interpretations of the settlement of saints at pagan sites are attested. For example, in the older version of the Life of St. Alypius the Stylite, at the time of Heraclius, the saint settled in an ancient pagan cemetery in a deserted area outside Adrianopolis in Paphlagonia. In spite of the presence of demons, he decided to stay there. A funeral monument representing a mythical animal (*tauroleon*) on a column was particularly appealing to him. He spoke to the statue with affection (ἡδέα καὶ προσηνὴ διαλεγόμενος) and embraced it: "I greet you, very precious to me; worthless, you have been assigned for use as a funeral monument by those who built it; I welcome you, because being a cornerstone you are appropriate for me; you have been made such a cornerstone by God and are marvelous to look at. I greet you, stone, in Christ,

because Christ himself, the unshaken power, is called 'true' stone, on which I wish to support my feet. I have chosen this place as a residence in eternal rest."<sup>91</sup> Symeon Metaphrastes, in a later variation of the Life, gives a slightly different interpretation of the saint's preference for the tombstone: it was suitable to his needs since he was preparing himself for voluntary death.<sup>92</sup> The end of the story is equally interesting: the saint brought from the city an icon of Christ, a cross, and a lever; he demolished the monument and replaced it with the cross and the icon, so that the enemy army of the demons would be an object of ridicule (γελῶτο καὶ παίζοιτο). Then, following a vision, he built on the site a church dedicated to St. Euphemia.

It is difficult to trace the attitude of the uneducated Christians because the sources that are produced by and express the feelings of the lower classes are intended for a certain milieu, that of the monks who in their religious zeal promoted a complete detachment from the pagan tradition. Generally it was believed that pagan temples and statues were inhabited by demons.

In late Antiquity both pagans and Christians believed in the existence of demons (*daimones*), minor gods whose power was ambivalent. Pagans considered them their companions and protectors, but their power could sometimes be destructive.<sup>93</sup> For Christians the demons had an evil nature; they were dangerous enemies and could cause illusions.<sup>94</sup> Pagan and Christian literature of late An-

<sup>91</sup> *Sancti Alypii Stylitae Vita Prior*, ed. H. Delehay, *Les saints stylites*, p. 154, lines 8–16.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176, lines 26–29. Cf. a similar treatment of the subject by Theophanes Kerameus (12th century), in a homily on Pancratius, bishop of Tauromenium (PG 132, col. 1001B–C). According to the ancient *Vita*, the saint had destroyed the idols of the city (*ActaSS*, April I, p. 240D, §5), while Kerameus changes the account into a metaphor and speaks about the "idols of the spirit."

<sup>93</sup> Cf. E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety: Some Aspects of Religious Experience from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine* (Cambridge, 1965), 37f; MacMullen, *Paganism*, 79 f; Fox, *Pagans* (above, note 14) 129, 132, 327–30.

<sup>94</sup> Cf., for example, St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom, in J. Goar, *Euchologion sive rituale Graecorum* (Venice, 1730), 578–84; *Apophthegmata patrum*, PG 65, col. 77: Φαντασάι . . . εἰ ἀληθινὰ εἶσιν ἢ ὑπὸ δαιμόνων. For the Christian belief in demons, see MacMullen, *Christianizing*, 26 f; Fox, *Pagans*, 137, 327–30. For a later period, see Michael Psellos, *De Operatione Daemonum: Accedunt inedita opuscula Pselli*, ed. J. F. Boissonade (Amsterdam, 1964); D. A. Miller, *Imperial Constantinople* (New York, 1969), 152–58; C. Mango, *Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome* (New York, 1980), 159–65; R. P. H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam, 1988); idem, "Some Late Byzantine Theories about the Materiality of Demons," *BSCAbstr* 12 (1986), 52. For the demons in Byzantine hagiography of the early centuries as a *topos* ("le modèle démoniaque"), see E. Patlagean, "Ancienne hagiographie byzantine et histoire

<sup>86</sup> *ActaSS*, Nov. III, p. 798A.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 798B–799F. Cf. also Theodoret, *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, III.101–2.

<sup>88</sup> *Sancti Danielis Stylitae Vita antiquior*, ed. H. Delehay, *Les saints stylites*, SubsHag 14 (Brussels-Paris, 1923), § 14–18 (pp. 14–18; cf. also p. 96, lines 6–10; pp. 109, line 15–112, line 24).

<sup>89</sup> Cf. D. J. Chitty, *The Desert a City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire* (Oxford, 1966), 8, 34, 69.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. MacMullen, *Christianizing*, 26 f.

tiquity is replete with references to the supernatural power of the demons. And, most important for our purpose, the lower classes and uneducated people as well as the intellectuals believed in them. Libanius explains epidemics and riots by the actions of πονηροὶ δαίμονες.<sup>95</sup> St. Augustine is a case in point.<sup>96</sup> In the hagiographical sources, one of the most remarkable activities of the saints was to expel demons from pagan temples. In the Life of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, a pagan priest called demons into a temple with the usual rite (τὴν συνήθη προσάγοντος θεραπείαν), but St. Gregory cast them out by spelling Christ's name. The pagan priest tried in vain to call the demons back; the saint, in order to demonstrate the superiority of the Christian religion, was alone able to do so.<sup>97</sup>

In some instances, descriptions of these incidents are enriched with revealing details. After the destruction of the Serapeum, the temples of Canopus were transformed into a monastery. The first monks who settled there were invited by Bishop Theophilus from Jerusalem, but they were unable to handle the demonic illusions. Native monks were then called in because it was believed they had the expertise to neutralize the local demons.<sup>98</sup> A hermit of the fourth century, Macarius, settled in a deserted temple. At night, using a mummy for a pillow, he became the target of demons, who called him by a woman's name. A demon of the pagan mummy took part in this game. But the hermit did not give up. He beat the mummy and turned the demons away.<sup>99</sup> In the Life of St. Daniel the Stylite, demons attacked him with stones for two days, while they tried to intimidate him with clamor and sounds. The third day they created illusions (φαντασάι) and threatened him with swords. Then the saint expelled them with prayers, and they flew before his face in the form of bats.<sup>100</sup> One should note that the idea of expelling demons from a place in order to establish a new

cult there is an old one. For example, according to tradition, the first colonists of Byzantium expelled the local demons with sacrifices.<sup>101</sup>

Statues were also inhabited by demons. I would emphasize here that already in ancient Greece we find evidence of an animistic concept of statues.<sup>102</sup> In late Antiquity various sources, both pagan and Christian, testify to the general conviction that statues were animated. St. Augustine, in his *Epistula* 102.3, offers an interesting description: "Does anyone imagine that idols have any sense of perception? Yet, when they are set in lofty shrines to be honoured, and are waited on by those who pray and offer victims, dumb and lifeless as they are, they give the illusion of moving and feeling, and greatly increase the veneration of the crowd, on which their cult so greatly depends."<sup>103</sup> This conviction was shared by both uneducated and educated people. Eunapius mentions a story told to Emperor Julian regarding such a miracle: the philosopher Maximus, in the presence of several of his colleagues, performed a religious rite so that the statue of the goddess smiled and then laughed, and the candles that she held in her hands were lit up.<sup>104</sup> For the Christians, of course, the demons inhabiting pagan statues were malevolent.<sup>105</sup> But the pagans of late Antiquity considered statues to be a kind of talisman because of the power of the spirits that resided in them.<sup>106</sup>

### III

Superstition, however, prevailed in the long run. It has been shown that in later Byzantine periods pagan statues were accorded magical powers, and

sociale," *Annales ESC* 23.1 (1968), 112–16; J. Chrysavgis, "The Monk and the Demon: A Study of Demonology in Early Medieval Literature," *Nicolaus* 13 (1986), 265–79.

<sup>95</sup> *Or.* XIX.5, 29. Cf. John Chrysostom, *Hom.* 15 and 21, PG 49, cols. 154, 214 f.

<sup>96</sup> P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo, a Biography* (New York, 1986), 311. Cf. also John Chrysostom, *Hom.* 28 in *Matthaeum*, PG 57, col. 353.

<sup>97</sup> *Vita S. Greg. Thaum.*, PG 46, cols. 916A–917A; cf. MacMullen, *Christianizing*, 59–61.

<sup>98</sup> Chitty, *Desert*, 54–55. Cf. also L. Keimer, "L'horreur des Égyptiens pour les démons du désert," *BIFAO* 46 (1947), 135–47.

<sup>99</sup> *Apophthegmata patrum*, PG 65, col. 268D.

<sup>100</sup> H. Delehaye, *Les saints stylites*, 14–18.

<sup>101</sup> *Patria Constantinopoleos, Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. T. Preger (Leipzig, 1851), 4 (p. 2, line 12).

<sup>102</sup> Cf. C. M. Bowra, *The Greek Experience*, 2nd ed. (London, 1961), 159.

<sup>103</sup> Trans. W. Parsons, *The Fathers of the Church* 18 (Washington, D.C., 1953). Cf. also Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, III.57; Theodoret, *HE*, V.22; Sozomen, *HE*, VII.15; Porphyry, *Vie de Porphyre le philosophe néoplatonicien*, ed. J. Bidez (Leipzig, 1913), § 1 (p. 1, lines 6–10). Cf. also Fox, *Pagans*, 135–37.

<sup>104</sup> Eunapius, *Vitae sophistarum*, VII.2.9–10: ὥστε τὸ πρῶτον ἐμειδία τὸ ἀγαλμα, εἶτα καὶ γέλως ἦν τὸ φαινόμενον . . . καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἔφθανεν τὸ φῶς ταῖς λαμπάσι περιφλεγόμενον.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Grégoire and Kugener, *Marc le Diacre*, § 61: the demon of the statue of Aphrodite, once a cross had been presented, came out of the statue, breaking it into pieces. Cf. also the prayer of St. Gregory the Thaumaturgus: the demons are everywhere in nature, on the mountains, in caves, rivers, etc., and in altars, in baths, at crossroads, etc.: A. Strittmatter, "Ein griechisches Exorzismusbüchlein, Ms. Car. c 143b der Zentralbibliothek in Zürich, II," *OrChr* 26.2 (1932), 127–44 (esp. p. 129, line 12).

<sup>106</sup> Cf. H. Mattingly, "The Later Paganism," *HTR* 35 (1942), 178.



were believed capable of causing calamities and disasters.<sup>107</sup> The evidence of the sources mentioned above, however, suggests that this was not a medieval interpretation, "a new 'folkloristic' significance" of the pagan monuments,<sup>108</sup> but rather a continuation of a concept rooted in the pagan religious beliefs of late Antiquity. The continuation into medieval times of such pagan beliefs in connection with the monuments is also attested in some Christian sources from the end of late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. In the seventh century, for example, Anastasius Sinaites mentions that "the *telesmata histamena* of the magician Apollonius were still practiced, some for fending off animals and birds that could do harm, others for diverting the stream of rivers flowing irregularly, while others were regarded as capable of averting (*apotropaia*) destruction and harm to men."<sup>109</sup> G. Dagron has shown that statues attributed to Apollonius are mentioned in many later Byzantine sources, and he notes the "débordement de l'Antiquité sur le Christianisme."<sup>110</sup> One should note, however, that not all Byzantines believed in the magical power of the statues of Apollonius. Choniates describes a bronze eagle in the Hippodrome that was believed to have served the rites of

Apollonius; it was brought to Constantinople in order to save the city from snakes. His description, however, does not imply that he believed in the magic powers of the statue: "it was a new craft, a magnificent and meretricious product of his witchcraft . . . , using filthy lewdness, which had guided demons and all those who believe in his secret rites."<sup>111</sup>

Although such sources express the attitudes of the common people, at about the same time the attitudes of the educated toward pagan monuments appear to be more complex than is usually believed. The break with classical tradition by the end of the sixth century is a well-documented phenomenon. The institutions of the ancient cities had by that time disappeared.<sup>112</sup> Education and literature had become Christian. The empire had become a wholly Christian one; the seventh and eighth centuries, the Byzantine "dark ages," are thus characterized. We no longer hear of collections of statues.<sup>113</sup> Generally the literary evidence conveys the impression that pagan monuments were repudiated or that they were nothing more than objects inhabited by demons and spirits.<sup>114</sup> To our surprise, there is archaeological evidence which suggests that sometimes they meant more than that to educated Byzantines. In the recently excavated church of St. Stephen at Um er-Rasas in Palestine, pagan monuments had been deliberately included in the decoration of its floor, which consisted of mosaics depicting buildings representative of certain cities. In one of them, a pagan temple (identified as that of Zeus Hypsistos) was chosen as best representing the city of Neapolis, the see of a bishop of Palestina Prima. A temple of

<sup>107</sup>Cf. Ph. Koukoules, Βυζαντινὸν βίος καὶ πολιτισμὸς, I, 2 (Athens, 1948), 237–39; Mango, "Statuary," 56 f. Cf. also Fox, *Pagans*, 673–74, who also suggests a complete detachment of Christians from classical monuments already at the time of Constantine: "to neutralize them, Christianity had to divert attention to elsewhere and to leave them as 'demonic' survivals beside its own new centres of religion." Miller, *Constantinople*, 158–62, believes that "the natural inclination of the Byzantines was to transfer their suspicion of the insubstantial world of the demonic to the frozen substance of the statues . . ." (p. 159). Cf. also Averil Cameron and J. Herrin, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (Leiden, 1984), 31–34 (on the *Patria*, cf. A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos* [Bonn, 1988]; on the date of the *Parastaseis*, cf. A. Kazhdan, *BZ* 80 [1987], 402).

<sup>108</sup>Cf. Mango, "Statuary," 59 f, 63.

<sup>109</sup>PG 89, col. 525B. On Apollonius of Tyana, cf. W. Speyer, "Zum Bild des Apollonios von Tyana bei Heiden und Christen," *JbAC* 17 (1974), 47–63 (for the meaning of the word *telesma* and its use in other texts, cf. *ibid.*, 56ff); E. L. Bowie, "Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and Reality," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, 11, 16, 2 (Berlin, 1978), 1652–99; C. P. Jones, "An Epigram on Apollonius of Tyana," *JHS* 100 (1980), 190–94; Dagron, *Constantinople* (above, note 5), 103–25. Cf. also the poem of Johannes Tzetzes, ed. P. A. Leone (Naples, 1968), II, verses 928–81 (pp. 80–82), where he praises his wisdom and his power. (For a general account of pagan survivals from the middle of the 6th century from other sources, cf. F. R. Trombley, *The Survival of Paganism in the Byzantine Empire during the Pre-iconoclastic Period*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1981; *idem*, "Paganism in the Greek World at the End of Antiquity: The Case of Rural Anatolia and Greece," *HTR* 78, 3–4 [1985], 327–52).

<sup>110</sup>Cf. Dagron, *Constantinople*, 104 f.

<sup>111</sup>*Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. J. A. van Dieten, I (Berlin, 1975): καινὸν μεθόδευμα καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου γοητείας μεγαλοπρεπὲς μαγγάνευμα . . . ταῖς ἀρρητοῦργαῖς χρησάμενος, ὃν ὑφηγῆται δαίμονες καὶ ὅσοι τὰ τούτων προεβέβουσαν ὄργια (p. 651, lines 33–34, 35–37). Cf. also A. Cutler, "The *De Signis* of Nicetas Choniates: A Reappraisal," *AJA* 72 (1968), 113–18; E. Mathiopulu-Tornaritu, "Klassisches und Klassizistisches im Statuenfragment von Niketas Choniates," *BZ* 73 (1980), 25–40. For a different view, see Mango, "Statuary," 68.

<sup>112</sup>Cf. Saradi-Mendelovici, "Demise" (above, note 42), 365–401.

<sup>113</sup>It has been stated that there are no collections of antiquities after the 5th century A.D. (Mango, "Statuary," 70). One should mention that in the 6th century Justinian ordered Narses to destroy pagan temples in Egypt and to send their statues to Constantinople (above, note 46). Cf. also Dagron, *Constantinople*, 144. For a later period, see the remarks of Cameron and Herrin, *Constantinople*, 46, and A. Cutler, "The Mythological Bowl in the Treasury of San Marco at Venice," *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History: Studies in Honor of George C. Miles* (Beirut, 1974), 235–54, esp. 254.

<sup>114</sup>Cf. Mango, "Statuary," 59 f.



Pan stood for an Egyptian site.<sup>115</sup> Inscriptions in the church date from the years 756 and 785.

The *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* and the *Patria Constantinoupoleos* offer valuable information for our investigation. Ph. Koukoules and C. Mango have shown that superstitious beliefs regarding pagan monuments were prevalent: it was believed that statues were inhabited by demons and were to be avoided because they could harm people. Sometimes the statues were destroyed as the result of such superstitious beliefs.<sup>116</sup> We find similar attitudes toward ancient monuments in the eighth-century commentaries of Cosmas of Jerusalem on the poems of Gregory of Nazianzus.<sup>117</sup> Such attitudes were held by uneducated and educated Byzantines alike.<sup>118</sup> In this respect again, in Byzantium of the eighth and ninth centuries, things did not change much from late Antiquity. Ancient monuments, both statues and buildings, were objects of superstitious beliefs, while at the same time they were admired for their artistic value. For example, George Cedrenus praises the statue of Apollo at Daphne in Antioch (ἦν γὰρ ἐκέισε θαυμαστὸν ἔργον Βρυξιδος ἀγαματοποιού, ὃ μήτις ἄλλος ἴσχυσεν ἐκμιμήσασθαι).<sup>119</sup>

However, we notice the distance that separates the Byzantines from the original meaning of the pagan statues, when we read that they wrongly identified them with Byzantine emperors or other Christian figures.<sup>120</sup> Arbitrary interpretations of representations of pagan gods and heroes might equally be considered as suggesting ignorance of classical mythology. For example, according to the *Patria*, Athene is represented with a helmet because her wisdom is invisible, and with an olive branch ὡς καθαρωτάτης αὐτῆς οὐσίας οὐσης· φωτὸς γὰρ ὕλη ἢ ἐλαία. The Gorgon is represented on her chest to designate the ταχὺ τοῦ νοός.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>115</sup> M. Piccirillo, "Le iscrizioni di Um er-Rasas—Kastron Me-faa in Giordania I (1986–1987)," *Liber Annuus* 37 (1987), 199 (no. 30), 202 (no. 38).

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος*, I, 2, 237–39; Mango, "Statuary," 61–62.

<sup>117</sup> PG 28, cols. 341–670; cf. Cameron and Herrin, *Constantinople*, 31–32.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 32. For a contrary view, see Mango, "Statuary," 59 ff.

<sup>119</sup> Cedrenus, Bonn ed., I, p. 536, lines 100–12.

<sup>120</sup> *Parastaseis*, § 61 (p. 138, lines 13–17) = *Patria*, II, § 78 (p. 190, line 19–p. 191, line 3); *Parastaseis*, § 68 (p. 150, lines 1–6); *Patria*, II, § 47 (p. 176, lines 7–10), § 87 (p. 196, lines 3–6).

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, § 3. Cf. also § 4, 5, 6 etc.; § 45: Καὶ ὁ περιβλεπτός οὗτος κίων καὶ ἡ στήλη τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, δόξην Ἑλλένων ἐστήσεν αὐτὴν ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, θήσας, ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἥλους ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ δόξην ἀκτίνων, ὡς Ἥλιος τοῖς πολίταις ἐκλάμπων. (Cf. Cameron and Herrin, *Constantinople*, 216–17; R. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals* [Berkeley, 1983], 62 ff. For a different interpretation of ancient statues, see Theodoret, *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, VII.7: they were intended to instruct uneducated pagans.)

Such interpretations do not, however, suggest detachment from and ignorance of the classical tradition: the Byzantines simply followed a certain literary tradition from late Antiquity. In the *Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων* of Porphyry, for example, we find similar interpretations of ancient statues.

The *Parastaseis* and the *Patria* allow us to make three other observations regarding the position of classical monuments in Byzantium. (1) Subjects of superstition were not only pagan statues, but also Christian ones. For example, Zenon, looking at a statue of Valentinian, stated that Caesars who were not represented in statues were not lucky.<sup>122</sup> (2) Ancient statues were displayed in public places not only because they were considered a kind of talisman with apotropaic powers, but also because they were objects of admiration; they were erected εἰς θέαν, εἰς θέαμα, θεάς χάριν, etc.<sup>123</sup> We understand, therefore, why in our source θαυμάτιον means εἰδωλεῖον.<sup>124</sup> (3) The *Patria* explicitly mentions artistic considerations for some pagan monuments. Constantine, for example, displayed all the statues transported from various temples and cities for the decoration of Constantinople (εἰς διακόσμησιν τῆς πόλεως).<sup>125</sup>

In later centuries we often hear of pagan monuments in the works of *literati*. Several sources testify that interest in classical monuments never disappeared in Byzantium. A few texts have been selected which best illustrate this attitude. In a letter of Emperor Theodore II Lascaris, the ancient city of Pergamum is contrasted to the poverty of the contemporary city. The emperor praises the glory and prosperity of the ancient city, the ingenuity that produced its magnificent buildings, the wisdom that they express; he admires the beauty (ὠραιότερα) of the ancient monuments. The houses of its contemporary inhabitants appear like mouse holes (μυῶν τρώγλαι).<sup>126</sup> It has been sug-

*nople*, 216–17; R. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals* [Berkeley, 1983], 62 ff. For a different interpretation of ancient statues, see Theodoret, *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, VII.7: they were intended to instruct uneducated pagans.)

<sup>122</sup> *Parastaseis*, § 51; cf. also § 74 (*Patria*, II, § 34); *Patria*, II, § 29; III, § 37 (p. 230, lines 23–24), 200.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. *Parastaseis*, § 13 (p. 76, lines 2–3), 37 (p. 98, lines 13, 15; p. 100, line 11), 39 (p. 104, line 3), 50, 57 (τὰ εἰδωλα συγγλᾶσας [Κωνσταντῖνος] εἰς μέρος αὐτουργικὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ μαρμάρων εἰς θέαν ἔασεν: pp. 132–34), etc.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, § 41 (p. 110, line 19). For other terms used to designate statues, cf. Cameron and Herrin, *Constantinople*, 33.

<sup>125</sup> *Patria*, I, § 62 (p. 145, line 20); cf. also § 68 (p. 149, line 2).

<sup>126</sup> *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae CCXVII*, ed. N. Festa (Florence, 1898), 107–8: Ἑλληνικῆς γὰρ μεγαλονοίας ὑπάρχει ταῦτα

gested that this description of ancient Pergamum was the result of a new interest in Antiquity in the Palaiologan Renaissance.<sup>127</sup> Surprisingly, we find a similar attitude toward classical monuments in a text of the tenth century, which has escaped the attention of scholars. Theodore, bishop of Kyzikos, in a letter addressed to Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, describes the vestiges of ancient Kyzikos in words similar to those of Theodore II: "the houses were destroyed, the walls were collapsed; there were many ruins and great columns, overturned remains of *stelai* and tombs, as well as pieces of broken inscriptions; on account of their letters, there are faint vestiges of ancient prosperity; their size is remarkable." The bishop contrasts this picture of ancient glory and prosperity with the contemporary inhabitants of the site who were not educated and who did not have the virtue (*ἀρετή*) of the Ancients. They could only claim that they were their descendants.<sup>128</sup>

In the eleventh century, on the occasion of the collapse of the temple of Kyzikos caused by an earthquake, Michael Attaliates expresses his admiration for its solid construction, its beautiful stones, the superb harmony of its parts, its size, and its good preservation.<sup>129</sup> Maximus Planoudes later visited the temple and complained that there was no one around who could show him its underground structure.<sup>130</sup> The monuments of Athens are praised by Michael Akominatos.<sup>131</sup> The *De signis* of Nicetas Choniates expresses the same ideas. Manuel Chrysoloras, in a letter addressed to De-

metrius Chrysoloras, explains how his admiration for classical monuments must be understood: he does not admire the beauty of the bodies but that of the creative mind who produced them ("Οτι οὐ σωμάτων κάλλη θαυμάζομεν ἐν τούτοις, ἀλλὰ νοῦ κάλλος τοῦ πεποιηκότος).<sup>132</sup>

It has been shown that collections of pagan statues (which would certainly testify to their artistic appreciation by educated Byzantines) are not mentioned in late Byzantine sources.<sup>133</sup> However, the physical proximity of the Byzantines to pagan monuments is attested in many texts in all periods of their history. In addition to the sources mentioned above, the following texts deserve our attention. In the Life of Patriarch Eutychius (d. 582), a mosaic of Aphrodite in a private house was destroyed only when the owner decided to transform it into a monastery.<sup>134</sup> According to the Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon, in a village a marble sarcophagus that contained the remains of ἀρχαίων ἀνθρώπων Ἑλλήνων had been used by the villagers as a water fountain. But they needed the saint's intervention to eliminate the demon who was the guardian of the deceased. The hagiographer explains that the saint allowed the use of the pagan sarcophagus ὡς χρήσιμον ὄν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὕδρου ὑπουργίαν.<sup>135</sup> In the eleventh century Psellus tried to read and interpret an ancient inscription.<sup>136</sup> Manuel Chrysoloras read ancient Greek inscriptions in Rome; his archaeological interest was clearly motivated by "national pride."<sup>137</sup> John Eugenikos, in an *ekphrasis komes*, mentions the vestiges of a so-called *palaia kome* located not far from the

μεστά, καὶ σοφίας ταύτης ἰνδάλματα . . . Σμερδαλέα γὰρ εἰσι ταῦτα πρὸς τὰς νῦν ἀνοικοδομίας . . . Μέσων δὲ τῶν οἰκοδομῶν κελλύδρια χθαμαλὰ καὶ οἶων λείψανα τῶν τεθνεώτων οἰκῶν ἐμφαίνονται, πολλὴν ἐμποιοῦντα τῇ θεᾷ τὴν ἀλγηδόνα. Ὡς γὰρ εἰς τοὺς νῦν οἰκοὺς αἱ τῶν μυῶν ἔχουσι τρώγλαι, οὕτως ἂν εἴποι τις καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ἀφανιζομένους.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Mango, "Statuary," 69.

<sup>128</sup> S. Lampros, *Τὰ ἐρεῖπια τῆς ἀρχαίας Κυζίκου τὸν δέκατον αἰῶνα*, Νέος Ἑλλ. 13 (1916), 130; idem, *Βιενναίου κώδικος Phil. Gr. 342 Θεοδώρου μητροπολίτου Κυζίκου*, *ibid.*, 19 (1925), p. 270, lines 1–8. Cf. also J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota graeca e codicibus regis V* (Paris, 1833), 373–75: Στίχοι τοῦ σοφωτάτου μητροπολίτου Ἀθηνῶν κυροῦ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Χωνιάτου ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχετύπῳ ἀνιστορήσει αὐτῶν, τούτεστι τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀθηνῶν.

<sup>129</sup> *Historia*, Bonn ed., p. 90, lines 5–8: . . . μέγιστον ὃν χρῆμα πρὸς θεᾶν δι' ὀχυρότητα καὶ λίθου τοῦ καλλίστου τε καὶ μεγίστου τεχνικωτάτην ἀρμονίαν τε καὶ ἀνοικοδομῇν καὶ ὕψους καὶ μεγέθους διάρκειαν.

<sup>130</sup> C. Wendel, "Planudea," *BZ* 40 (1940), 433: . . . καὶ ναὸς πάλαι τιμώμενός τε καὶ θαυμάζομενός . . . τὸ γὰρ, ἥνικα πρὸς τὸν ἐν Κυζίκῳ νεῶν ἦμεν, μηδὲνα ἡμῖν ἐπιστήσαι, ὅς ἂν καὶ τὰ ὑπ' ἐκεῖνον ἔδεικνυ ποταμούς τε φερομένους δι' ὑπονόμου καὶ ἑτέρ' ἅττα κρυπτόμενα θαύματα. . .

<sup>131</sup> S. Lampros, *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα* (Athens, 1879), I, 93 ff, 316 ff; II, 12, 17 etc.

<sup>132</sup> PG 156, col. 57D. Chrysoloras says that he was looking for ancient stones and statues (*ibid.*, 57A): Νῦν δὲ ὡμογέων ἤδη γενόμενος, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εἰς τοῦτο ἐξηνέχθην. Αἰνιγμά σοι δοκῶ λέγειν· ἄκουε δὲ τὴν λύσιν τοῦ αἰνύματος καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ ζώντων σωμάτων κάλλη ἐν ἐκείνοις ἐπτῶν τοῦτο ποιῶ, ἀλλὰ λίθων, καὶ μαρμάρων, καὶ δμοιωμάτων.

<sup>133</sup> Mango, "Statuary," 70; idem, "Épigrammes honorifiques, statues et portraits à Byzance," *Αφιέρωμα στο Νέκο Σβορώνο*, I (Rethymno, 1986), 23–35, esp. 34 and note 2. Cf. also idem, "Anthologia Palatina 9.686," *CQ*, n.s. 34 (1984), 490, and the remarks of B. Baldwin, "Anthologia Palatina 9. 686," *BZ* 79 (1986), 263.

<sup>134</sup> *ActaSS*, April I, p. 311, § 54.

<sup>135</sup> A.-J. Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon* (Brussels, 1970), pp. 94–95, § 118.

<sup>136</sup> *Michaelis Pselli Scripta Minora*, ed. E. Kurtz (Milan, 1941), 2, § 188. Cf. also G. Dagron, "Psellos épigraphiste," in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies 7 = Okeanos: Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko on His Sixtieth Birthday* . . . (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 117–23.

<sup>137</sup> PG 156, col. 56C–D: Ἀ πᾶς τις ἂν βεβαίως ἀπὸ τῶν γραφομένων εἴποι ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος δεῦρο κεκοιμισθαι· καὶ ἄλλα δὲ μυρία εὐρίσκω ἐνταῦθα Ἑλληνικῶς γραφέντα καὶ τυπωθέντα, οἷον ἐφ' ἐνὸς τάφου μετὰ πολλὰ Λατινικῶς τετυπωμένα· ἔτι προσκειμένον Ἑλληνιστὶ τοῦτ' ὁ ἔπος· Εὐψύχει, Πρισκιανέ, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος.

Byzantine site that he describes. One could see there “vestiges of a wall, towers, a theater, ancient buildings and statues.”<sup>138</sup> The familiarity with forms of ancient art is manifested not only in classicized forms of Byzantine art objects but also in literature. Emperor Zeno the Isaurian, for example, is compared with Pan: ἦν γὰρ ὁ Ζήνων τῆς κακίστης καὶ εἰδεχθοῦς γενεᾶς τῶν Ἰσαύρων, δασύς τε καὶ εἰδεχθέστατος, ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες ζωγραφοῦσι τὸν Πᾶνα τραγοσκελὴ καὶ δασύκνημον, τὴν χροῖαν μέλας, τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀσύμβλητος, ὀργίλος, μνησίκακος καὶ φθόνου μεστός.<sup>139</sup>

It appears from these examples that Christian attitudes of late Antiquity toward pagan monuments were transmitted to the Byzantines of later centuries, the only difference being that some attitudes have been emphasized at different periods. The conclusion of Herbert Hunger regarding Byzantine literature may also be applied to Byzantine attitudes toward pagan monuments: “The Byzantines felt closer to Christianity and late Antiquity (5th and 6th centuries) than to pagan Antiquity.”<sup>140</sup>

We may thus discern various attitudes toward classical monuments in late Antiquity. Some were destroyed as a result of religious intolerance, while others were re-used by Christians for practical purposes or for their artistic value. Was this ambiguity the result of a confusion that one would naturally expect in a period of transition? I believe a similar phenomenon in Christian literature offers the explanation. Despite the various warnings of the dangers of pagan literature for Christians and suggestions for a radical departure from classical tradition and education, Christian authors never ceased studying classical texts and using them as examples to be imitated. The phenomenon is well known and has often been discussed.<sup>141</sup> My intention here is merely to draw attention to the similarities between the Christian attitude toward pagan literature and that toward classical monuments. This intimate relationship between pagan literature and pagan religion was also stressed by the pagans. Libanius, for example, in his *Oratio* XIII.1,

writes: “In company with the worship of the gods, Sire, there has also returned reverence for the practice of eloquence, not merely because eloquence is perhaps no small part of such worship, but also because you have been inspired toward reverence for the gods by eloquence itself.”

In concluding, I would venture to suggest another explanation for this ambiguous attitude toward classical monuments, especially the re-use of temples by Christians: the Christian concept of the sacred was simply a very different one from that of the pagans.<sup>142</sup> The problem is related to extremely difficult questions of religious belief and practice. I must limit myself at this point to only a few manifestations of it. It is known that building materials from sacred places were used in pagan Antiquity for the construction of, for instance, city walls, in cases of emergency. The literary evidence does not suggest a similar treatment of Christian religious buildings.<sup>143</sup> Reactions of pagans and Christians to sacred places during periods of crisis offer an interesting insight into their religious beliefs. Thucydides, for example, describes the sacrileges of the Athenians during the plague: in their desperation, they neglected the ἱερὰ καὶ ὄσια, the funerary customs, and generally they committed illegal and immoral acts (ἐπὶ πλέον ὀνομίως).<sup>144</sup> Similar reactions of the Romans in periods of plague and war are offered by Livy.<sup>145</sup> By contrast, according to Procopius, the plague of 541–2 impelled the Christians to excessive displays of religiosity and obedience to the law.<sup>146</sup>

In order to illustrate the pagan attitude toward “the sacred” in late Antiquity, a few examples must suffice. Archaeological evidence suggests that as early as the first century A.D. the cult of the Heraion of Samos had declined and that in the sanctuary itself a private house was built.<sup>147</sup> Later in the fourth century, Libanius in his *Pro templis* recom-

<sup>138</sup> S. Lampros, *Παλαιολογία καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, I (Athens, 1912–23), 51: καὶ τεῖχους ἔχῃ καὶ πύργων καὶ θεάτρου καὶ οἰκημάτων ἀρχαιοτάτων καὶ ἀγαλμάτων λείψανα.

<sup>139</sup> Cedrenus, Bonn ed., I, p. 615, lines 13–17.

<sup>140</sup> H. Hunger, “The Reconstruction and Conception of the Past in Literature,” *17th International Byzantine Congress*, 519.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. above, note 8.

<sup>142</sup> Cf., from a different point of view, F. W. Deichmann, “Vom Tempel zur Kirche,” *Mullus: Festschrift Theodor Klauser = JbAC* 1 (1964), 52–59; P. C. Finley, “Topos hieros und christlicher Sakralbau in vorkonstantinischer Überlieferung,” *Boreas* 7 (1984), 193–225.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. a rare case of a church that had been included in the imperial palace by Emperor Tiberius, recorded in the *Parastasis*, §2 = *Patria*, § 107.

<sup>144</sup> Thucydides, II.52–53.

<sup>145</sup> Livy, IV.XXX.9–11; XXV.I.6–12.

<sup>146</sup> Procopius, *Pers.*, XXIII.12 f.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. Spieser, “La christianisation,” 318. In the 3rd century imperial legislation forbade sales of sacred places: *CI*, IX.19.1 (a. 241). For a parallel in the Christian legislation, cf. *Nov. Just.*, 120.7.1, which forbade the sale of monasteries in order to be

mends re-using pagan temples to house the municipal administration: "They are at least buildings, even though not used as temples. Taxation, presumably, required offices of collection: so let the temple stand and be the collection office, and keep it from demolition."<sup>148</sup> He himself could have established his school in a temple in 354.<sup>149</sup> The temple of Fortuna in Antioch was also used by professors of rhetoric for their courses, and was a

meeting place for merchants in the time of Julian. It was no longer a "sacred" place.<sup>150</sup> In the fifth century Zosimus describes how the Romans destroyed the most sacred of their statues during the siege of Rome by Alaric.<sup>151</sup> Although the act certainly had a political significance, it no doubt reveals a concept of the sacred quite different from that of the Christians.

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transformed into private residences. For a definition of the *sacrum locum* in imperial legislation, cf. *Dig.* I.8.6.3 (Marcian), 9 (Ulpian)=*Basilica*, 46.3.5 and 7 (scholion 1); *Dig.* XVIII.1.73 (Papinian)=*Basilica*, 19.1.73; *Photius*, *Nomokanon*, Rhallis and Potlis, I, 89–92, and his interpretation of sales of monasteries in the middle Byzantine period: 91–92.

<sup>148</sup>*Or.* XXX.42.

<sup>149</sup>*Or.* I.102.

<sup>150</sup>Cf. L. Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.-C.* (Paris, 1955), 197 note 7, who concludes that the temple had already been used as a basilica.

<sup>151</sup>*Zosimus*, V.41.6–7. Sacrileges in periods of Christian religious conflicts, such as iconoclasm, constitute distinct cases and should be studied separately.